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LIFE OF

Adolph Spaeth, D.D., LL.D.

"For the sake of the Church"

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TOLD IN HIS OWN REMINISCENCES, HIS LETTERS AND THE RECOLLECTIONS OF HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Edited by His Wife

PHILADELPHIA
General Council Publication House
1916

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BY
HARRIETT R. SPAETH

Dedicated

to

Our Grandchildren

PREFACE

This book is purposely made uniform in page and type, with Dr. Spaeth's master-work. There the resemblance ends. The Biography of Dr. Krauth was written by a theologian, for theologians and scholars. As Dr. Spaeth says, it was written for the future. It describes a tremendous crisis in our Church, and will be the standard historical work from which later generations can learn what that crisis was.

Dr. Krauth's life has been called one of the great Epics of the Lutheran Church in America. His Biography, by his "son-in-law and son in spirit" is not only a monument to the illustrious subject of it, but also to the writer's untiring zeal in collecting material and to his cultured skill in putting it together.

At the foot of that enduring monument this unpretentious handful of gathered flowers is laid, by one to whom these two men are inseparably connected, and unspeakably dear.

October 12, 1916.

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Life of Adolph Spaeth, D.D., LL.D.

CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

Esslingen to Blaubeuren

1839-1857

In der Lebensbeschreibung hervorragender Maenner,—sei es fuer den, der eine solche zu bearbeiten hat, sei es fuer den, der sie liest,—da sind auch die kleinsten Zuege aus der Kindheitsgeschichte von Bedeutung. Niemand moechte sie entbehren. Im Treiben des Kindes suchen und finden wir den zukuenftigen Mann. Selbst des Kindes Spiel wird uns zum Vorbild und zur Prophezeihung kuenftiger Lebensarbeit und Groesse.—*Saatkoerner, I. n. Epiphanias.*

"The witchery of the Neckar finds in Esslingen its favorite seat. As the river rushes past, far and wide, up to the vine-clad slopes, spreads the rich verdure of garden and meadow. Wooded hills and mountains rise in the dim distance. Village follows village in the plains, waving fields here, smoking factory chimneys there; while now and then, as witnesses of a time long past, the heights are crowned by old castles of crumbling stone. It is as if, in this short distance, everything were crowded together in one lovely picture, of what was and is the charm and beauty of Swabia.

"Esslingen, the old Imperial City, dating from the ninth, or even from the eighth century, given to Wuerttemberg by Napoleon in 1802,* still has portions of its

* "The first Sunday (1871) I was at church in my native town, the old Imperial City of Esslingen, which, about sixty years ago, Napoleon had allowed his humble satellite, Friedrich of Wuerttemberg, to pocket, as reward for services rendered during the war." (Erinnerungen: Aus Reisen in der Alten Welt.)

wall, its Burg, its weather-beaten towers, the Wolfthor decorated with the Hohenstaufen lion in rude, worn sculpture, its old city-hall (1430) and its wonderful Frauenkirche. That it has also some of the largest manufacturing plants of Germany, that its Normal School ranks among the first educational institutions of the land, that the printing industry founded there in 1473 is still represented by firms of world-wide reputation, all this and more that has added to the wealth and importance and growth of the place, has not quite destroyed the old world atmosphere, and Esslingen never forgets that it was once, and for centuries, an Imperial City." *

In this old town, with its poetry and romance, its stirring history, its close connection with the heroic Hohenstaufen line, its simple, pious folks-tone, combined with high culture and noble ideals, the boy was born, who was destined to add one more to the list of names held in honor by his townsmen. On the 29th of October, 1839, Philipp Friedrich Adolph Theodor Spaeth first saw the light, being the eldest child of Dr. Ernst Philipp Heinrich, and Rosine Elisabeth (Boley) Spaeth. His father's first known ancestor had been a farm laborer, whose son, as a friend of the son of a local magnate, was educated by his wise patron and became schoolmaster, in Buttenhausen. His son, Philipp Spaeth (born May 1, 1773, died June 26, 1835), was the grandfather of Adolph, and rose to the position of Ober-Finanz-Rath (Minister of Finance), with the title, for his life only, of von Spaeth. The second wife of the Finanz-Rath was Justine Jakobine Agathe Hettler, born March 13, 1785, a very aristocratic little lady, of whom two portraits are preserved, one as a child, with her father, Expeditions-Rath Hettler, the other as a

* Th. Ebner, condensed. This was the last article added by Dr. Spaeth to his collection of newspaper cuttings.

young matron. Her first son, born April 10, 1809, was Adolph's father.

His vocation had for a time seemed to be the ministry. He had studied theology and begun to preach, but turned then to medicine, becoming a skilful surgeon and highly honored and trusted general practitioner in Esslingen. He was debarred from positions which he might otherwise have attained in his profession, by his open sympathy with the liberal movement in 1848, even narrowly escaping imprisonment for his fearless speeches against the government. In his youth he was of a jovial disposition, loving the society of young army officers, fond of horses and of dress, given to practical jokes, and prone to wrath on slight provocation, some of which qualities he passed on, in varying degree, to his descendants. As his children grew up, however, he developed more and more into the earnest, careful father, and especially for his oldest son his ambition and hope were boundless. Letters are still extant in his beautiful writing, almost like fine engraving, showing how deep was his interest in the education and growth in character of this promising boy. Among his papers is a prayer for "my dear son Adolph on the way to the Landexamen." As it had not been God's will that he himself should continue in the service of the Word for which he had been intended, he entreats a faithful, merciful Father to accept his son instead, to give him "courage, strength and deliberation" for the coming examination, and to use him, for his future life, to His honor and praise, and to the glorifying of His Son.

The father's own growth in earnest Christian faith was rapid, during the later years of his life. Knowing himself to be doomed to die, watching with instructed eyes the progress of the disease whose minutest development he could prophesy with certainty, he waited patiently for the end, bearing his own awful burden,

strengthening his dear ones, and committing them to the hand of an almighty and all-loving Father. He lived to see three of his seven children confirmed, to see his first-born safely through the rigid entrance-examination for the lower Seminary, and beginning the long course of theological training required in Wuerttemberg. Shortly before his death he gave his last prescription to an old peasant woman, who could not be persuaded that her beloved Doctor had finished his work on earth.

He died on Sunday, May 4, 1856, having just passed his forty-seventh birthday, leaving a young widow with seven children, the eldest a little over sixteen years old. The younger children were: Ernst, later Ober-Medicinalrath in Esslingen; Emma, who became the wife of Rev. Philip Pfatteicher of Easton, Pa.; Marie, the second wife of Professor Dr. Karl von Liebermeister of Tuebingen; Fanny, Dr. Liebermeister's first wife; Julie, at the head of the Paulinenstift in Friedrichshafen for many years; and Ottilie, teacher in the Girls' School in Esslingen.

The Boley family belonged to the middle class, and were a sturdy, thrifty, pious race, from whom Rosine's children inherited for the most part, a vigorous constitution, a fine moral poise, and a good share of common sense and practical turn. Her father, Friedrich Boley (born June 6, 1765, died January 28, 1841), was an innkeeper in Nellingen, only an hour's walk from Esslingen. He was also Treasurer of the community. The Bear Inn was the birthplace of his daughter, Rosine, and her home until her marriage. She was the last of a large family, of whom many children and grandchildren gradually scattered to the ends of the earth, represented by Jerusalem and America, though the name is still known and honored in Stuttgart, Esslingen, and other parts of Wuerttemberg. Chamisso preserves the story of the brave miller, Boley, an uncle and godfather

House in Kueferstrasse, Birthplace of A. I.

of Rosine, in his poem, "Das Auge." A fire broke out in his stable which threatened to destroy the neighboring village. Thinking to save his hostler who slept in the building, Boley entered it, came out in flames, and, jumping into the nearest water, became paralyzed in his twentieth year. Bedfast for life,

> "His eye is wonderfully bright,
> To the pure, to children, a fount of delight;
> But piercing to him on whom it may rest,
> Who hides a secret sin in his breast."

The poem tells how a woman, coming in to sell a keg of brandy, is first ordered off, and then brought to confession by the terrible power of Boley's eye. In a jealous rage she had murdered the hostler, and then set fire to the stable.

Rosine, "das Roesle," was a fair, plump, serene-faced damsel, with rosy cheeks, which she kept almost to the end of her life, as she also retained her alto voice and her love for music. The story goes that Father Boley did not greatly encourage the suit of the Esslingen Doctor, and when he drew rein at the Bear, as he often did, Roesle's Papa was pleased to see him turn the corner again before the little daughter came out. But the garden was deep, and the wall was not so high but that Roesle's blond head could appear above it when the big horse came near, and the old story repeated itself once more, always new, as it still is.

The Doctor carried off his young bride, June 27, 1838, with no special opposition after all, and founded a home in the old house in the Kueferstrasse, where six of his children were born. A daguerreotype taken about 1844, unfortunately too faded for reproduction, shows the staid young couple with three children, Adolph a pretty boy of four or five years, with a mass of dark hair and a sweet serious expression. The mother's

character was the molding influence in the family. Soon after Mr. Spaeth's arrival in America a competent judge said of him: "he impresses one as having had a Mother. So many of our young Germans seem to have 'just growed!'" What this mother was, is thus described by her son in his address at the Memorial Service held in St. Johannis a few weeks after her death, in 1902.

Our beloved Mother's early life was one of great simplicity and plain surroundings. Her education and culture as a child were supplied by the village school. But God had given her not only a strong, healthy body, but also a bright understanding, a clear judgment, a warm, deep heart, a joy in living, and an untiring energy and pleasure in her work. Still greater gifts than these natural advantages had He bestowed upon her, in giving her parents who were pious and believing Christians, whose upright, active life was one of faith and prayer, in whose house the Word of God was daily bread. And God gave her a faithful Pastor who showed her the very heart of the Divine Word, in a sound, pure, clear understanding of the Confessions of our Church. Even to her old age, she repeatedly testified of her Pastor Hoelder: "he first led me to the Saviour." As I have grown older, and gained more and more insight into the churchly and theological struggles of the old world and the new, ever surer has become my consciousness of the wonderful clearness, purity and soundness of her whole religious intuition and knowledge. Very often, in visiting my Swabian home, have I been reminded of the striking remark of the late Professor Schmidt of Tuebingen, that among the pious Christians of his native land so many, side by side with the faith of the Church, have also a little "faithkin" (Glaeublein) of their own. This did not apply to her. She held the faith of her Church well-grounded on its Catechism. There

was nothing fanatical, nothing morbid. Whether the subject of discussion were the mystery of the God-man, or the nature of the Sacraments, she stood simply and immovably on the Confessions of her Church.

But with her this was no dead knowledge, no mere orthodoxy, but a real, living faith. Hers was a deep, inward life, in and with God, of constant intercourse through prayer with the living Lord. I believe I am not saying too much,—and especially here I would weigh every word,—when I say from my own experience, that in more than forty years as pastor, I have never found a Christian who could show in his life such a wealth of actual, wonderful answers to prayer, as our departed Mother. Especially in that period of her life when she stood with seven children by the coffin of the husband who died so early, did her Lord show Himself to her as the helper of the widow, the Father of the orphan. . . . . "What experiences have we passed through!" she wrote, in recalling this time. "How have we been permitted to see the glory of God!". . . . In her prayers her children held the first place . . . . . especially those engaged in the pastoral work in America. "I often help with your sermon, from Friday on. Surely you must feel it," she wrote to me in my first year in America. . . . . Again, on the birthday of her firstborn: "How strangely, yet how beautifully has God, the faithful Shepherd, led you! Even if my mother-heart often misses you so painfully, still I know in Whose service you are, and see the answer to one of my prayers, for when I so often experienced the wonderful assistance of my faithful Guide, my heart, overflowing with thankfulness, cried out: 'Lord, Thou doest so much for us! let us, me and the children, do something also for Thee and Thy kingdom!' Now He has used you for this work, and I can thank Him from my heart; for the

How and Where I would not have dared to suggest." *

The joy of her life was her joy in her children. She wrote once: "I reckon it among the greatest pleasures in life to be father or mother. What would my life have been without my children! They are my stars, and in their love my heart is continually warmed and refreshed anew!" . . . . . Praise and thanksgiving were the key-note to her spirit. "I like best to sing hymns of thanksgiving, for I know I shall never finish with them, but shall begin all over again when I reach the other side, and can join in the singing there." . . . . "How glad I am that I learned so many hymns by heart in my youth, and that I have them at any moment!" . . . . She not only knew the text of these hymns, she could sing them and did sing them with delight. Among God's gifts to her was a beautiful alto voice. She was also fond of music, and even in advanced age could take her seat at the piano daily, playing and singing her favorite chorales. . . . On this account it was a great affliction for her when, about ten years before her death, the vocal cords were partially paralyzed, depriving her for a time of her ability to sing. "Am I patient and submissive under it?" she writes. "Oh no! Yesterday in church, I wiped away several tears during the hymn, while all around me were singing so heartily and with such enjoyment. I was very sorry for myself, and for-

*A somewhat fuller version of this story is given in a letter written to Dr. Spaeth by one of his sons who was visiting Mutterle: She told me yesterday something about Prelat Schmid, who was your predecessor at the Duke of Argyle's. She cannot forgive him for recommending you there. "It is your fault that my Adolph is in America," she said, to which he replied: "Who knows whether his work would have been so signally blessed anywhere else?" "Yes!" continued Grandmother, "I often prayed that God would let my children do something for His honor, because He had done so much for us. Wie aber der Adolph nach Amerika ist, do hab' i' g'sagt: 'Ja! *só* hab' i's nit g'meint.'"

Kueferstrasse House, Inner Court

got the words: 'In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.' But a fine sermon refreshed me greatly, and in my spirit thanks and praise are not silent. The prospect of the home above, where the Lord may place me in the ranks of those who sing Hallelujah, always gives me fresh courage." . . . . . And as her inner life was so deeply grounded, so richly endowed and blest, gradually, under the guidance of God, a wider horizon opened to her in the world around her, giving her a clear view of its richness and beauty, and, through intercourse with persons out of many lands and of different social position, stimulating and broadening her. The simple, modest, widow's home extended in time to a "Pension," still modest indeed, but where, from east and west, from north and south, pupils and guests gathered. Russia and America, Scotland and Italy, France and Switzerland were represented. . . . Fresh and natural, always unaffected, as she showed herself her personal worth was quickly recognized and esteemed, and strong bonds of warm, true affection and respect connected her far and near, with high and low. And what a delight it was to her when, from time to time, she could leave the narrow limits of her Swabian home, and could see God's beautiful world in its grandeur and loveliness, on the Rhine, in Switzerland, and offer there praise and adoration to the majesty of the Creator! . . . . . She was one to whom the words of the Psalmist apply: "The righteous shall flourish like the palm-tree . . . . those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age . . . . . to shew that the Lord is upright." Such a palm-tree was she, a tree planted by the water, by the fountain of eternal youth, the Word of God.

Upon receiving this Memorial Address one of her daughters wrote: "You have succeeded in giving a

faithful picture of our dear Mother . . . . but if I were inclined to add anything to it, I would say that one side of her character has not received full recognition, that is her joyous, I might almost say humorous, child-like way of taking life. . . From your picture, true and beautiful as it is, one might think that *all* of her thoughts were fixed more on eternity than on this life. That was not the case. With all her piety she stood firmly, with both feet on this earth,—in the world, though not of the world."

The relation of this pious mother to her son was one of peculiar tenderness. He learned to read playing at her feet. Once in the pulpit he described to a breathless audience how, having learned the letters not by name but by the phonetic method, he was told to choose and lay side by side E, M, I, L. "Say them together," said his mother, and the child pronounced the name of a little playmate, in overwhelming astonishment and delight. He had the key now, to all knowledge. He knew what letters meant. He often said that all his theology he had learned from his mother. Throughout his life he kept the simple faith and trust of his childhood, instilled by her, and strengthened by so many remarkable instances of the direct guidance of God. He wrote more than once in his Diary, when his life came to a turning point: I am not sure yet. I would like to know what is God's will for me, and not take things into my own hands.

The children grew up happily together in the old home, with plenty of playmates under the same roof, some of whom were among his dearest friends in later life. They had the freedom of the large garden, and there, in the troublous times of 1848, the boys drilled with sticks and valorously struck off the heads of inimical cabbages! In the Erinnerungen, speaking of his visit to Kropp, and referring to an excursion to Schleswig, Dr. Spaeth

wrote: "Many a recollection of my childhood awoke in my heart; of the years 1848 and 1849,* when we valiantly drilled in the back garden, and were never tired of singing with one another:

'Schleswig-Holstein, meerumschlungen,
Deutscher Sitten hohe Wacht,'

and of the hot tears we shed over the sad outcome of that struggle for liberty. Now I was permitted to see Schleswig as German soil, a part of the German Empire!" To this time probably belongs the story of a severe gunpowder burn which the little boy received. He said nothing to father or mother but, when the pain became unendurable, went quietly out to the family supply of drinking water and held the injured hand in this comforting bath!

In winter the children coasted down the Neckarhalde past the vineyards, faster and faster until they flew over the bare, grating road, under a deep stone arch, down to the beautiful Frauenkirche. The walks about Esslingen are very lovely. Whether they climbed up to the ancient Burg, learning history at every step, or went shuddering through the Wolfthor where a witch had been walled up alive, or along the well kept roads with smiling fields

*In a Memorial Address on Carl Schurz, Oct. 6, 1906, Dr. Spaeth said: "When the alarm-bells of 1848 sounded, he went out into the battle for the freedom and unity of the German Fatherland, for the dreams and ideals which at that time filled the noblest hearts of Germany. The time was over at last when Lessing could say to the Germans: 'Love of Fatherland is a heroic weakness which I can perfectly well do without;'—or Goethe exclaim: 'Roman patriotism! God forbid!' On the contrary, other watch-words were heard now, such as Niebuhr the historian gave out: 'The right of the nations is older and more sacred than that of dynasties!' Freedom of the press, trial by jury, the arming of the people and a National Parliament,—these were the vehement demands of the time."

on either side, to one of the many villages (Mettingen, Ober-and Untertuerkheim, Nellingen, Bergheim, Denkendorf etc.), or only through the narrow, rough streets, with houses dating back for centuries blinking at them through the half closed eyelids of the dormer windows, in the two and three storied roofs,—everywhere was legend and poetry, everywhere something to fascinate an imaginative and thoughtful boy, and give him that deep-rooted love of country and home which is peculiarly the birthright of every Swabian.

Little Adolph was greatly impressed by what was probably his first church-going, on the occasion of his baby sister's baptism. The old Dionysius-Kirche with its twin towers, its solemn pillars, its wonderful stained glass windows, its high pulpit and deep chancel, "large enough and high enough to take in many a quite respectable American church spire and all" (Erinnerungen), filled him with awe. And when the pastor came out in the flowing alba, which, with all its unliturgical proclivities, the Church of Wuerttemberg always retained, the child could have but one idea. He could scarcely wait until he reached his mother's bedside. "Mother," he whispered, once more in the safety of home, "I have seen God!" In spite, however, of this first impression, a few years later he was turned out of the same church by the scandalized Sacristan, who caught him running up and down the too tempting pulpit stairs. Little could the good man foresee that from that very pulpit many years later, his audacious captive would look down on 3,000 worshipers gathered to hear him preach!

On fine Sundays the regular afternoon walk of parents and children led over the Neckar and up through the hills, to Nellingen. At a certain linden tree Grandmother Boley* would be waiting for them in her white cap,

*Her maiden name was Christiane Mauz. Born Nov. 2, 1772, died Dec. 20, 1850.

and the two little grandsons would race for the pleasure of seeing her first. Her picture shows a somewhat stern face, a Puritan, or even Quaker-like simplicity in dress. There are many stories of the strong hand with which she guided her large and complex household, but toward the children she was always tender.

Less frequently Adolph visited his other grandmother in Stuttgart. She lived in a large house, in the finer part of the city, and of course her great pet was "mein Alter," as she always called Adolph. He often recalled that he had been allowed to build bridges or walls with the gold pieces from Grandmother's desk, laying them together like checkers. When Adolph was hungry Grandmamma would say: "Go to Sophie and get a piece of bread," but the little fellow knew better than that. "I am not *bread* hungry," he said once, "but *cake* hungry!" and then Sophie's Bubenbroedle, always ready for the children, were brought out immediately. This grandmother kept up a lively correspondence with her daughter-in-law, to whom she was greatly attached. It was before the rage for Kindergarten, and Adolph began Latin when he was five years old.* He once reported to his parents in high glee: "Now I know that lieber Gott understands Latin. I asked Him to help me to-day with

* In 1885, at the unveiling of a monument to Pastor Volz, Buffalo, N. Y., Dr. Spaeth said: "Apart from the personal friendship which has bound me to Pastor Volz for the last sixteen years, I may well claim that scarcely another of his friends and admirers here came into contact with him, at least outwardly, at such an early period as myself. Forty-one or two years ago our friend was a pupil in the Teachers' Seminary of my native town, Esslingen, while I, as a five year old A. B. C. scholar, was in the elementary classes of the Latin School there. Our school building formed a square with the Teachers' Seminary, and, in the open court, we little ones saw the students pass by, and watched their prowess in gymnastic exercises. There, though I have of course no personal remembrance of it, I must have seen Christian Volz daily."

my 'Argumentle,' and I did not make a single mistake!" His mother writes to the grandmother: "Adolph has been promoted again, skipping a class. He is studying with new zeal. Ernst is also one of the best in his school. . . . . The development and the natural gifts of our dear children move me to thank God. How much more have we than so many others! May they learn to use these advantages to their temporal and spiritual good, and not hide their talent in the earth." So ambitious was little Adolph that, after much consultation with the big dictionary, he wrote a Latin letter to the Stuttgart grandmother, ending with the customary greeting from his brother Ernst, literally translated *"Gravitas salute!"* The beloved grandmother died in 1850, and one of Adolph's early recollections was of the hurried carriage drive toward midnight, from Esslingen to Stuttgart, to see her once more alive.

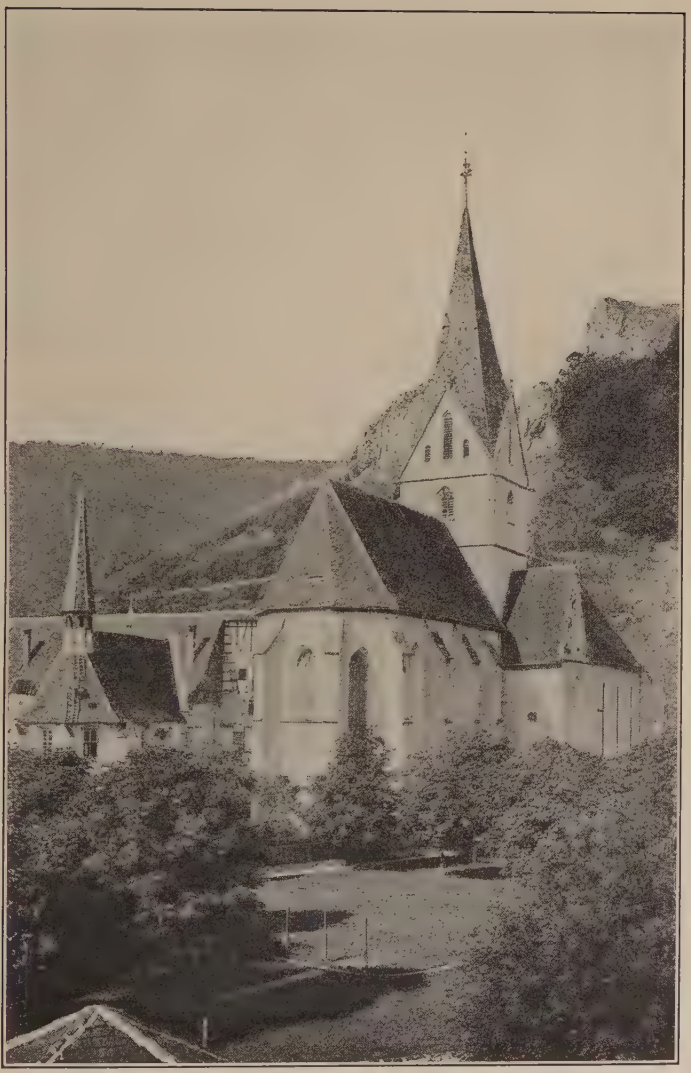
About this year the family moved from the old Kueferstrasse to a more modern residence in the Ritterbau Strasse, overlooking at the rear the Maille, a pretty promenade with shrubbery and statues, running on both sides of the canal which, further on, supplies various mills with water power. Here a new and wonderful influence came into the lives of the children, and a friendship was formed lasting for over half a century, and only broken by death. The Doctor had been asked to take into his house for closer supervision and more regular treatment, a young French Swiss girl suffering with acute hip disease. With the consent of his wife on whose care also much would depend, the proposal was accepted, and into the group of ruddy, active German children a pale, slight girl was carried, only a few years older than the eldest boy, but unable even to put her foot to the ground. At first the younger members of the family saw little of her, and only heard with terrified sympathy, the cries of agony when the pain

was most excruciating. But gradually, under the Doctor's tender skill and Mutterle's loving care, she grew better and could gather the children about her rolling-chair to listen to wonderful stories told in her pretty, broken German. The boys were her knights, and vied with each other in carefully pushing her chair, when she was able so to accompany the family in their shorter excursions. She played the piano too, and fifty years later Adolph still knew a few bars of the old-fashioned "Pluie des Perles" which she had patiently taught him note by note. He always regretted that he had not used this opportunity to learn French, but Cécile soon picked up German enough to understand the poems he read her and the stories which were so real to him, the old Esslingen legends of headless horseman and intrepid maiden, the tales of Barbarossa and Lichtenstein, of the Hohenstaufen, and of his passionately loved and lamented hero, Conradin. In May, 1853, Cécile and Adolph were confirmed, and soon afterward she left Esslingen. They met only a few times in the many years following, but with Mutterle and most of the children an active correspondence was kept up, and to the second generation she was "Tante Cécile," loved and venerated, but always as something a little finer than common clay. Toward the end of her life her lameness increased and she became almost totally blind, but nothing could quite quench the youthful spirit, the gayety, the quaint originality which made up her charm, or touch the deep Christian character which helped her to endure the many trials and afflictions which fell to her lot. She had a genius for friendship, and when, within a few months, a second friend of many years was taken by death, she had no further courage for living. On Christmas Day, 1910, the weary eyes closed on earth to open again in the perfect vision of heaven.

From a very early period Adolph's vocation had been

decided, at least in his own mind, though as with many highly gifted children it seemed an even chance whether his love for military life, his acknowledged capacity as a leader, would fit him for the soldier's career, or whether his decided musical talent would prevail, and lead him into the less brilliant but also distinguished paths of the composer and director. Once, when the boy was very busy building a block fortress, his father announced that he had decided to apprentice him to a merchant. "One must either be the right kind of Pastor, or none at all." Adolph burst into tears exclaiming: "Rather will I let both feet be cut off than be anything else than a Pastor!" The father's decision may perhaps have been influenced by the extreme shyness of his son in public. "As a boy, partly by nature, partly in consequence of the exceedingly strict discipline of my father and my schoolmaster, I was very bashful, reserved and timid. When, in the upper class of our Latin school in Esslingen, I was many a time called upon to read the morning prayer, my voice often failed, simply from excitement and lack of breath." (Erinnerungen.) From that time forth his studies tended more and more to the point at which he aimed, and the terrible "Landexamen," *i. e.*, the State examination for entrance into the theological seminaries sustained by the government, began to loom up.

But before that, on the first Sunday in May, 1853, came confirmation, for which Adolph had been most carefully prepared by his pastor Herr Stadtpfarrer Schumann, who was also a warm friend of the family. The confirmation service was preceded by an examination in the seventy-three questions and answers of the Confirmation Book. As everyone knew what his question would be this was less formidable than it sounds. After the examination each child received the Pastor's blessing and a text for his life-motto, just as our cus-



Blaubeuren Klosterkirche

tom is in America. The poorer boys were generally dressed for this occasion in coats which appeared again at their wedding and burial. The fit at fourteen can be imagined.

"The realities of confirmation which had seemed so far away only a little while ago, made the months and weeks and days before the Landexamen fly like the wind. The only thing that counted now was to lay aside every impediment, and fix the mind on the approaching struggle. And if the boy were ever inclined to wander right or left from the narrow path prescribed for him, he was at once driven back to it by the warning of parents and teachers, or the mockery of his young companions: 'So much learned trash (Wissenschaftswust), was only necessary for candidates for the Landexamen!' They spoke of us as already sentenced." *

On the appointed day 108 candidates assembled in the large hall of the Stuttgart Gymnasium, only 33 of whom could possibly be accepted. Nervous fathers and anxious teachers came in to hear and see all that concerned their special candidate. The examination lasted three days. On the first day the irascible Esslingen Doctor looked over his Adolph's papers. "Pack up your things and come home with me. You have not the slightest chance!" was his hasty verdict. But Rector Braun of the Esslingen school, a friend and classmate of Adolph's father and very proud of his promising pupil, interposed: "He will do no such thing! You just let my boy alone!" And the Rector was right. Adolph passed as number 20, and entered Blaubeuren, October 12, 1853.

* Pfister: "Pfarrers Albert," Stuttgart, 1901, an interesting account of the four years in Blaubeuren by a classmate of A. S. From this book in general, and from Ms. notes: A. S. in Blaubeuren, by Dr. Eberhard Schott of Augsburg more particularly, the details of the Cloister School are taken.

He writes in September, 1853: "I do not know how to begin a letter, for joy that we have passed. Praise and thanks to God for His merciful guidance. O, it is just too jolly! I congratulate you too, from my whole, whole, whole heart, and your parents also, in which my parents join. Now I will tell you how things went with me. On Thursday our Rector went to Stuttgart, and at 4.30 almost all of the candidates met him at the railroad station full of anxiety to hear something. Herr Rector steps out looking glum and says: 'I bring a variety of news!' but not another word, on your life, till we reach the school. Then he allows only those who took the Landexamen to come in, raises his voice and speaks: 'Everyone of you has done his duty, but not everyone has been successful. The following have good reason to hope: Faulhaber, Hopf, Herzog, Yelin, Gess, Spaeth, Gussman,' and all of them are really accepted. Hurrah! Das ist zib erb!" (superb). "We have had three hours in Hebrew already. O Gemini! but that's gibberish! Bereschid Bara Elo him,* in the beginning God created. So the Bible begins, and to-day we have to learn to read ten verses! It all goes hindpart foremost! See what a regular Jew I am!? I could write every bit of my Hebrew plunder for you but I'm too tired. . . . . On the 12th of October we enter. Hurrah! Victoria!" (A. S. to Eberhard Schott.)

Blaubeuren is one of four cloisters, now become lower seminaries, whose history is peculiar. "They are a special feature of Wuerttemberg, and date back as far as the Reformation era. In the second half of the 16th century Duke Christopher of Wuerttemberg was the first to see clearly the scope and problem of the public school. But apart from the common schools, he systematized the Latin schools of the entire country, and about 1560 created the institutions which were to supply, for all

*The Hebrew characters follow, copied with great care.

future time, the Lutheran pastors of Wuerttemberg. At the head of these schools was the Stift, or higher Seminary, in Tuebingen. . . . . The preparatory schools for the Stift were the four cloister schools, Blaubeuren, Urach, Maulbronn, and, later, Schoenthal. Each of these four cloisters received in turn those who had passed the Landexamen of that year, and kept them for four years. The classes were known as the Blaubeuren Promotion, Urach Promotion, etc., the term including all who entered the same seminary together, and forming a life-long bond." (Pfarrers Albert.) Adolph's father had belonged to the Urach Promotion of 1823 to 1831. In Adolph's class, besides the 33 who entered through the competitive examination, there were a dozen others, hospitants, supported by their parents, and taking the full course with the class, but free to choose their own calling.

The Ephorus or Rector (literally Overseer), Schmoller, was at the head of the Blaubeuren school. He held to strict account any of the students who smoked, or drank a glass of beer in a tavern. But when one was brought before him accused of such an offence, he would ask him of what crime he was conscious. "Some were sufficiently broken down by the mere question, to empty their whole wretched stock of peccadilloes at his feet. Others, with more self-possession, would hunt through the hidden recesses of their heart for something which they were not too terribly afraid of confessing. . . . . The Ephorus liked it when some of us came together on a winter evening, and asked permission to spend a few hours in his family circle. He used to entertain us then with all sorts of narratives, though not without a little anxiety lest this should produce that 'haughty spirit' which precedes a fall." (Pfarrers Albert.) On these occasions the Rector's wife pro-

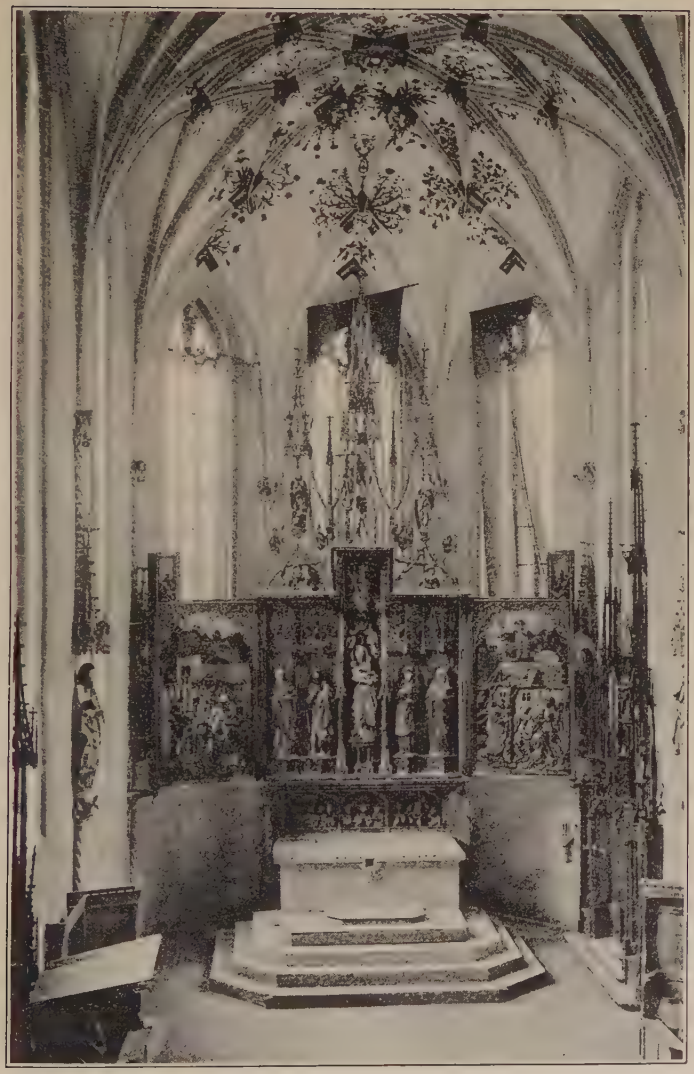
vided her share of the hospitality in the shape of a plate of apples, always hugely appreciated by her guests.

Besides the Ephorus there were two other Professors, Bohnenberger, later Ephorus in Blaubeuren, and Wiedman; also two young assistant teachers called Repetenten. Nor must the Famulus be forgotten, a compound of steward, monitor, detective, special messenger, watchman and head-waiter. He or his assistant kept a little shop with cakes and beer for the students, and he held the office of the keys at the main door of the school.

In the great court of the cloister is a mighty linden, and a fountain with a statue of John the Baptist to whom the original small cloister had been dedicated somewhere about the year 1100. The oldest of the present cloister buildings, the church, the cross corridor, and the portions that lie along the chief corridor, which is still known by the old cloister name "Dorment," are from the years 1467-1496. The glory of the church is the high altar with its wonderful wood-carving painted and gilded, which was completed in 1494. The relief on the right wing dates from 1493.

In going to bed the boys were obliged to pass along an open corridor whose arches looked down on the church with its blackened oak stalls where the Benedictine monks used to sit only a few centuries before. The effect of the moonlight, slanting and shifting on these empty seats was extremely weird, and, doubtless, ghostly shapes often glided through the dreams that followed.

The surroundings of Blaubeuren are most romantic. The cloister and village nestle close to the Blautopf, a clear blue lake long considered unfathomable, just at the point where, from its placid depths, the wide stream of the River Blau flows toward Ulm. "Like the edges of a colossal crater, precipitous, and mostly bare walls of rock enclose the basin of the Blautopf with its enchanting green meadows. The striking feature of this



Blaubeuren High Altar

spot however, is a solitary mountain peak, the Ruck, which has remained standing in the middle of the basin, steep and rugged on one side, but falling away gradually, in soft outlines, to the valley of the Blau." (Pfarrers Albert.)

"The ordering of the house, the 'Cloister' as it was usually called, was almost Spartan in its simplicity. All the rooms and corridors, even the lecture-room, were whitewashed and quite bare. To each student a room was assigned for the whole course of four years. . . . . Adolph received the Collegstube adjoining the lecture-room, sharing it with seven of his companions. This room was long and narrow, well lighted by four windows overlooking a quiet, peaceful orchard which, in spring, was glorious with blossoms, and enlivened by the joyous song of many birds. Besides a desk near a window for each of the eight students, there was a table in common, where, between the regular meals, they could enjoy a lunch; bread brought from dinner, or an apple-tart purchased from the under-famulus Lang, or even a sausage sent from home along with the freshly laundered linen. . . Each student received a monthly allowance of six Florins, about $2.50, called Weingeld, and taking the place of a former daily allowance of wine. Two Florins were paid at the beginning of each month, and the balance was given to him at the end of the term for travelling and vacation expenses." (Dr. Schott.) The Collegstube was in some respects the central point of activity in the Promotion. From it, in 1856, was issued the weekly manuscript newspaper, the *Satura,* which three students edited in turn. After three numbers aggregating twenty pages, Adolph writes: "I have really a respect for the intellectual achievements of our Promotion. This week it is again my turn to edit *Satura,* and already, Tuesday, sixteen poems have been sent in! What a mass of material I shall have by Saturday! . . . . .

You would hardly have expected that in this Seminary I should distinguish myself as a dramatic poet! But listen! I have worked up Schiller's 'Turandot' for our stage, as a comic opera, of course with many alterations. Day before yesterday the piece, in three acts, was given in the Collegstube for the first time. It was very well attended and the applause was tremendous, there seemed no end to the clapping. Everyone was greatly surprised and pleased. There is a universal demand for a speedy repetition of the Opera. Sometime I will send you the text to look over. It is adapted to a selection of melodies, and it was more especially in the choice and sequence of these, that I was so fortunate as to hit the taste of my public." Adolph did not take a leading rôle in this performance, but was one of four who formed the chorus of soldiers and courtiers!

The daily routine in the cloister was much like that in any rather strict school with a decided leaning to the simple life. Tin basins and a pump for the morning toilet; "Wassersuppe" every other day for breakfast, made by adding salt and a little butter or fat to hot water, which delectable mixture was eaten by dipping bread into it; about four times a year a roast and dessert for dinner, as a variation on the usual plain meal; morning and evening prayers; study periods and lessons; a short walk and an hour or two of free time, made up the day, all regulated by the stroke of a bell. For summer afternoons a bathing-place had been provided in the Aach, a tributary of the Blau, the latter being far too cold for boys, though just right for splendid trout.

"Sledding on the Uracher Steige was forbidden after the first time, by the town authorities, the more is the pity! Whereupon the Ephorus also forbade it on the ground that we are too old for it!" (A. S. to Eb. Schott.)

In Blaubeuren the students exchanged the somewhat

mechanical school-work of writing Latin and Greek verse for the study of the classical poets. Instead of the old thoughtless acceptance of facts came the love of investigation, the desire to form their own opinions. "The teachers were not exactly sympathetic with these far-reaching aspirations. They guided us faithfully according to their light, helped us out of difficulties, and cultivated our power of concentration. . . . Compared with the study of the ancient languages other branches made a very modest showing.". . . . . In the latter part of the course one of the "Repetenten" Julius Weissaecker, later distinguished as Professor in various Universities, as well as for his researches in mediaeval history, introduced his classes to Shakspere, of course in translation. He was a fine reader, and his extracts from the great English dramatist inspired the wish for more. "English grammars and English books were smuggled (!) into the school and not only Shakspere, but also the romances of Walter Scott, Bulwer and others were eagerly read." (Pfarrers Albert.) Dr. Straub of Stuttgart, also a classmate of A. S., says: "As the teachers in the Seminary at that time, with few exceptions, were not in a position to satisfy our hunger for culture, we found ourselves thrown on our own resources for the needed supplies. For we were a very restless, many-sided, high spirited set, with our individuality already sharply stamped."

Dr. Schott writes: "History was Adolph's favorite study, supplemented largely by private reading, for the regular instruction in this department was inexcusably wearisome and stiff. His warmly sensitive heart burned with love to his German people and fatherland, and with enthusiasm for liberty. The War of Independence in the American colonies, the French Revolution (Danton was his particular hero there), the German War of Liberation, with such men as Bluecher, York, Scharnhorst,

Koerner, Gneisenau, occupied his thoughts and aroused his liveliest interest. He was enthusiastic too over the power and greatness of the German Empire under the mighty Emperors of the Middle Ages. Friedrich Barbarossa was his favorite. . . Deep was his pain over the (at that time) impotence, discord and dismemberment of the German people. With a presentiment of a far-off future he looked forward passionately to the restoration of the realm, the glorious return of the imperial power, the awakening of Barbarossa from his sleep in Kyffhaeuser." Adolph showed an unusual gift for the arrangement or disposition of his material in writing German themes, as well as a great facility in expressing his ideas. He naturally took a warm interest in German literature. Schiller was his favorite poet. The students were permitted to read Schiller. Goethe was forbidden. In going home at Easter in 1854, Adolph, with a party of classmates, stopped in Merklingen, and gave, in the village inn, Schiller's first drama, the "Robbers," which they had practiced faithfully during their free time at school; thereby very nearly missing their train! . . From a letter written near the end of 1853 we learn that the "Robbers" had originally been in rehearsal for production in the Seminary. A quantity of deadly weapons, swords, daggers, pistols and guns had been ordered from the cabinet-maker, and a collection amounting to fully 3 Florins ($1.25) had been taken up for expenses. A lovely ball-dress with a blue "jacket" was obtained by one of the students from home, and an embroidered petticoat was borrowed from a Professor's wife. Then came the crisis. The boys were provoked by the officious censorship of certain Repetenten, and after a stormy scene the play was abandoned. So great was the excitement that several of the more outspoken students narrowly escaped expulsion. . . . . After this experience Adolph drew into his shell for some time especially as

he did not care to unite with either faction, the Pietists or the Worldlings, into which the majority of the Promotion rather ostentatiously divided.

"In our lower Seminary, Blaubeuren, in the class 1853-1857, was a good deal of musical talent although very crude and undeveloped. Also, unfortunately, we had no competent leader but were left entirely to ourselves. We would have liked to form a regular orchestra as provided for in every lower Seminary in Wuerttemberg, where all the instruments needed for orchestral music are at hand, belonging to the institution. . . . . In our burning zeal to do something in the musical line we ordered quantities of orchestral music, thinking that we would some day bring it out. Many a time I sat half the night copying notes, and wrote hundreds of pages of orchestra scores. But what we had was mostly out of our reach, and badly chosen, too. Only when we came to the string quartettes of Joseph Haydn our eyes were opened and a new world of a better musical taste was spread before us. I wrote the four parts on one score and directed the Quartette, as I did not play the violin well enough to take an instrument." (Erinn.) Dr. Schott says on this subject: "At nine o'clock according to rule, we went to bed, and about half-past ten he would slip quietly, in stocking feet, back to the study, and write eagerly until twelve or one o'clock, perhaps even longer. This is the only example on record of any transgression by Adolph of the house order or the law of the institution. Of course it could not go long undetected. The offender was discovered, and this injurious night work was strictly forbidden. But no punishment was deemed necessary as such devotion to the service of a noble art rather deserved recognition. . . . . At this time his achievements in music were not at all remarkable. His ear was good but his voice was not always clear . . . . . he showed however

an unusual talent for organizing, and a fine self-sacrificing enthusiasm for an elevated and ideal art."

The religious instruction in the cloister was unattractive and tiresome. The students were taught in a one-sided way to know only the strictly orthodox tendency, and so, later, they were almost defenceless against the attacks of its enemies. For this reason not a few of the seminarians suffered partial or total shipwreck of their faith, after coming to Tuebingen. "Adolph had a decidedly religious disposition, due to his mother's training and influence. . . . In the stillness and concentration of the somewhat monotonous Seminary life, far from home, his faith gained strength more and more, especially under the influence of his devout friend, Otto Pfleiderer. . . . At the same time he was far from making any parade of his religion, nor did he suffer from a narrow-minded pietism. His whole disposition was joyous, inclined to youthful vivacity and gayety, ... over which the first shadow was thrown by the death of his father during his third year in Blaubeuren." The effect of this sorrow was to make him still more earnest and conscientious in his work.

Adolph's physical condition at that time, though his father had written in some concern about it, was, as described by Dr. Schott, much more robust than it was a few years later. The romantic surroundings of Blaubeuren tempted the students to long expeditions of discovery, not always without danger, owing to the precipitous rocks and the many caves and clefts among them; simple diet and much exercise in the open air, made them healthy and strong. "Adolph was one of the strongest, tall and well-built, with an attractive face, which later, in Tuebingen, won him the name 'the handsome Spaeth.'" A bowling alley on the gymnastic field was well patronized, and as Adolph brought all his attention and energy to bear on his amusements as well

as his work, he soon became one of the most expert players.

During the last year in Blaubeuren the question of Adolph's future seems to have become unsettled again. In February he writes to his sister-friend Cécile: "I am no longer so well satisfied in Blaubeuren as formerly. You know we are rather too old for the restrictions that are laid upon us in the cloister. We are kept in very narrow bounds, and the slightest offence is severely punished. So I am very glad that, if God will, I am to leave soon. In August of this year I must take another difficult examination in Stuttgart, and if I pass I shall enter the University in Tuebingen. Being a girl you cannot understand how a boy of my age rejoices in the thought of the University! But you can rejoice with me;—and then *you* will have a brother who is a *Student!*" But years later, on the 40th Anniversary of his ordination he says: "In many respects the grace of God directly prepared me for my life-work. He led me to study theology in the University of Tuebingen. I did not at all wish to go there. I would much rather have become an officer in the army. If my own wishes had prevailed, no doubt I should long ago have been shot dead by the French. Only out of love to my mother did I yield to her wish."

Pfarrers Albert describes, with mingled sentiment and humor, the closing scenes in the cloister. At that time the old custom had not yet been abolished of presenting to each member of the class a "Promotion pipe," as outward symbol of the dawn of freedom and self-government. Even though most of them were going together as theologians to the Stift in Tuebingen it was still the end of the close companionship of the last four years. Hence the souvenir pipe. For Adolph's promotion the pipe displayed a picture of Blaubeuren drawn by Julius Euting, later Director of the library in Strassburg, a

distinguished orientalist, and a great smoker. Ambitious plans for a triumphal procession, with outriders going ahead of the omnibus and carriages, came to nothing. The departure of the Promotion, pipe in hand, was hastened by an outbreak of typhoid fever. With many a backward glance they left the familiar scene, and only when the last rugged peak had disappeared did they turn to the way that lay before them, the Future; for some of them clearly planned out, for others still unsettled and dark, an undiscovered country!

CHAPTER II

STIFTLER AND VIKAR

Tuebingen to Bittenfeld

1857-1862

Aus einem Wuerttembergischen Stiftler kann Alles werden!—*Old Proverb.*

Relatively little has been preserved concerning Adolph's four years in Tuebingen. To a boy barely eighteen, entering on theological study simply because it was his mother's wish, doubtless with many a longing thought of the military career he had renounced, it is only natural that what appealed to him in the University was the partial relief from cloister restrictions, the wider, gayer social circle, the Liedertafel, the orchestra, the Roigel, and the charming rides and walks with which the students minimized the risk of over-application to the pursuit of learning,—rather than theology itself.

The Stift, the central point of the Tuebingen University, rises proudly above the Neckar, a mighty fortress of Protestantism from which, for nearly four hundred years men of valor and distinction have gone out, not only into Wuerttemberg, but also into other European countries and to America. The whole spiritual life of Swabia has streamed for centuries from this never-failing fountain, in which the shifting signs of the times have been faithfully mirrored.

The original idea of the Stift was conceived by Duke Ulrich (died 1550), the hero of Wilhelm Hauff's romance, Lichtenstein. He founded, in the cloister from

which the Augustinian monks had been ejected, a free school for training theologians at the public cost. The sons of poor, God-fearing citizens, after passing the required examinations, were to be taught here, free of expense, as long as they were industrious and behaved themselves properly. And they were to be well fed; the authorities were not to set before them "Scherwasser * (?) in which the barley corns chased each other around." Anyone going out without permission received as punishment the "prandium caninum," *i. e.*, dinner without wine. Latin was the only language allowed. Many did not like it!

Ulrich's son, Duke Christopher, may be called really the founder of the Stift as it now is. The principles laid down by him still govern the system of schools in Wuerttemberg, beginning with the broad foundation of the German village school, rising through all the grades of lower and higher Latin schools and Seminaries, and culminating in the University and the Stift.

In the building itself the various apartments are pretty much the same as those which, until 1548, were occupied by the venerable Augustinian friars; the rooms, twenty-three in number, are still known by the curious designations which, for ages, have reflected the cosmopolitan character of this otherwise rigidly Swabian institution: Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Zion; Hellas, Elysium and Mecca; Vendée, Wartburg and Worms; Katzbach and Leipzig; Belgrad and Neapel; Ulm, Rothenburg and Bayerland; Hohenheim, Schwaerzloch and Luginsland; Rathaus and Jaegerstube; Quadrat and Mulattenstube.† Each room is divided by screens and curtains into six or seven "caves" (*cava*) or "dens" as we would call them, absolutely inapproachable to the

* Probably what modern scoffers would call "dish-water."

† Said to have been Adolph's room.

outside world. Each room has its elective officers, the "magister morum" who claims the best window, and the "Stubensenior" who has a right to the envied corner from which one looks out over the Neckar valley, and from which, formerly, one could indulge in sportive conversation with the "Jokele" or raftsmen as they floated down the river from the Black Forest. These were a rough set of men, who wore heavy leather boots, "Kanonenstiefel," up to the thigh. The display of a pair of Kanonenstiefel, accompanied by the derisive greeting: "Jokele spe-a-e-a-e-ar!" which rippled rythmically from window to window of the long rows that overlooked the Neckar, always called forth a volley of oaths, utterly unfit for the ears of young theological students. Complaint was made to one of the authorities, that the Stiftler could no longer endure this ungentlemanly conduct of the "Jokele," so the next time a raft approached he came to the window to remonstrate gently but firmly with the misguided men. Before he could even begin his irenical discourse the furious "Jokele" broke out worse than ever, and the good man retreated, utterly routed. The half had not been told him. He had also not been told that during the whole episode a pair of the hated boots had been gently waving from a window over his head.

With the Thirty Years' War the Stift fell on evil times, the number of students and the income of the institution were greatly reduced. The vineyards were unproductive, and for some years beer was substituted for wine, and a Stift's brewery was erected. But the return of peace brought prosperity with it, to land and Stift. In 1659 there were 170 Seminarians (150 is the usual number), and once more the full kegs rolled through the Stift's doors into the abyss of the cloister wine-cellars.

Wars and rumors of war came and went, always filling the Stift with excitement, and taking toll among

the hot-blooded young candidates. The French Revolution, the War of Liberation, the Phil-hellenic movement, the rising in 1848-9, all had their followers. But the turbulent waves subsided again. And even the hatred of Prussia disappeared in 1870, when the Stift was once more depopulated, and sent its young men to the field, to meet the enemy and the new era.

The peculiar dress of the Stiftler, a reminiscence of the monastic habit, derided and hated, has long since disappeared, and they are as jolly young fellows as one finds anywhere, with their bright-colored corps uniforms, and possessing handsome Society houses on the Tuebingen hills. Nevertheless the changes have been, for the most part, merely in external things. The Stift has gone with the times in theology and philosophy, or even, in many cases has marked out the way for the entire Protestant world. But it is and remains what it has become in four hundred years, the bulwark of Swabian Protestantism and the Humanities . . . "a lasting monument to a great ruler," "the noblest jewel of the land." In 1669, in the renovated dining-hall of the Stift, the inscription was carved in stone: "Claustrum hoc cum patria statque caditque sua." In 1793, when the tablet was removed, it crumbled to pieces. So, in the future, much that is old or antiquated may, and must fall away. The new era imperatively demands its right. But in the heart of the Stift the proud motto will hold its own: "This cloister stands and falls with the Fatherland!" *

* No history of the Stift has ever been written, though material exists in masses, from official documents down to the annals kept in many of the rooms. What we have given here is largely a very free translation of portions of an article on the Tuebingen Stift, that appeared in the *Daheim* for September 24, 1910, from the pen of Pastor Karl Gussmann, cousin and namesake of a classmate of A. S.

Tuebingen Stift

Any sketch of the Tuebingen Stift and of Adolph's life there would be incomplete without some reference to the Koenigsgesellschaft, the association of Stiftler in which he always took a deep interest, and which held him in high honor to the end of his life. The Society issued for its 75th anniversary (1913) a "Stammbuch des Koenigs," upon which our account is based. Of the earlier fraternities in Tuebingen we need say only a few words. They were formed and fell apart, having no fixed principles. The nominal aim of these associations, the awakening of a sense for morality, intellectuality and patriotism among the students, commended them to the Stiftler. The running out of patriotism into radicalism, as well as other disorders, repelled them. In June, 1833, the arrest of 38 members suspected of revolutionary intrigues broke up the most prominent of these organizations, from which nearly all of the Stiftler had already withdrawn. In 1832 these men, with other theological students, had founded a very informal association, mainly for the enjoyment of each others' company, without President or statutes, without even adopting a name, though they were usually called Koenigsstiftler from the tavern in which they met. After the founders graduated the association rapidly declined.

In 1837 a club was formed by a few Stiftler, which in 1838 expanded into the Koenigsgesellschaft, having the same meeting place as the older association, the Tavern zum Koenig von Wuerttemberg. The advent of the new organization was rather encouraged by the Ephorus Sigwart, as tending to lessen the influence of other societies of which he did not approve. The Koenigsgesellschaft elected officers, adopted a constitution, and, from the beginning, held regular meetings. Only Stiftler were eligible, and the colors were black-red-gold. These could not, however, be openly worn,

as having been the colors of the tabooed corps. In fact, not only Stift regulations but also an edict of the Government had, in 1825-6, absolutely forbidden any such association among students, but the Koenigsgesellschaft was never molested, as it gave no occasion for scandal. In 1839 the name Royalists by which the members began to be known, gave place to the familiar Roigel. Their meetings were held in private rooms in the Stift or in the tavern zum Koenig.

When Adolph entered the Stift the position of the Koenigsgesellschaft had become firmly established. With several of the more prominent members of his class he was admitted to the society about the beginning of 1858, and his readiness as a speaker, his musical gifts, his light-hearted participation in the social gatherings of his companions, soon made him a favorite among them. Dr. F. W. A. Notz has given us some interesting details of these Tuebingen years. "From 1859 till the summer of 1861 we were together as inmates of the Stift and members of the Roigel society. I have a photograph of him, with a short dedication in his own handwriting, dated January, 1860. This he gave me shortly after, and in remembrance of, the introduction * of myself and some other 'foxes' (Freshmen) into the Roigel, on which solemn occasion Adolph presided as 'Fuchsmajor,' Major or Drill master of the foxes. Well do I remember how we green lads stood there abashed and awe-struck, while he, with the dark locks floating round his pale features, fervently impressed upon us the duties and obligations as well as the privileges and amenities of foxdom. He proved a task-master with a big heart, kind and gentle toward his foxes, beloved

* This ceremony sometimes included a very mild form of hazing. The new "Fuchs" was dressed in his best attire, including a tall silk hat, and was obliged to give a history of his life, making it as "moving" as possible.

of us all. Impulsive and enterprising by nature, winning in his appearance and manners, prominent as an organizer and orator in set and in extemporaneous speech, he became a leader in the Roigel as in other organizations, especially in the 'Academische Liedertafel.'"

Adolph was the director of a quartette, which sang usually only in the meetings of the Roigel, never in public beyond taking part in the open air festivities or riding parties of the society. This position made him indispensable on such occasions. The story is told of one case in which a riding party was appointed for the same hour at which he was to deliver a sermon before his professors. He preached until the auditors were satisfied and dismissed him. Once outside the chapel, where fast horses were waiting, he tore off the gown in unconscious imitation of the valiant Muhlenberg, disclosing the bright uniform of the Roigel, and calling to his fag: "Fuchs, spann an!" (hitch up!) overtook his companions before they reached the rendezvous.

The Koenigsgesellschaft had a voice in electing members of the Liedertafel, a voluntary association of students who could sing, under the direction of the renowned composer Professor Silcher. Adolph's personal relations with Silcher were very close. He gave the chief toast at a banquet held when the beloved Professor resigned his position in Tuebingen; and at a torch-light procession in his honor, March 14th, 1860, Adolph made a speech so enthusiastic that fifty years later it was mentioned in a Life of Fr. Silcher (1910). Silcher died after a few months, in Tuebingen. His last composition is said to have been the touching song: "Mir ists zu wohl ergangen." ("Geschichte der Tuebinger Liedertafel," 1879.) In 1861 Adolph was President of the society during the summer semester.

"At the University we had an orchestra belonging to the Stift, which played every Sunday after dinner, in

the dining-hall, under the leadership of my esteemed friend Friedrich Silcher, the academical music-director. But Silcher's strength did not lie in directing. The Swabian Volkslied was his province. There his greatness appeared; and when, in the Liedertafel of the University, we sang for him his own wonderful popular songs with spirit and understanding, he was perfectly happy and satisfied. He was too mild for an orchestra leader. After his death Professor Scherzer succeeded him, and a new life was infused into our musical performances. Scherzer organized a town orchestra, of students, professors and others. He brought us so far that for the productions of our Oratorio Society our orchestra supplied the accompaniment, which had heretofore been given by Professor Palmer on the piano. We also ventured to give Symphonies, and produced at least the first of Beethoven's nine, with a fair degree of success. I say 'we' for I played first clarinet in the orchestra." (Erinnerungen.) Many years later we read in a letter to one of his sons: "During my student years in Tuebingen I was confronted by the serious problem, whether a systematic study of the Theory of Music in which I took such passionate delight, would enable me to make musical writing and criticism my life-vocation, even if I did not become a composer."

Professor Straub says of him: "Among those of the Promotion who remained true to theology, Adolph developed the greatest activity and took the most important position," but all this came later. That he studied faithfully under his Professors Oehler (Ephorus), Beck and Palmer is shown by his careful notes of lectures, several volumes of which have been deposited in the Seminary Library at Mt. Airy. He entered the lists for a gold medal and won it, by his prize sermon on the text given him, Rev. 3: 7 ff., the message to the Church in Philadelphia! And he escaped

entirely the dangerous influences of the "Tuebingen School" by which some of his dearest friends were led astray. In reviewing Dr. Otto Zoeckler's Handbuch der Theologischen Wissenschaften, in 1883, Dr. Spaeth says: "He gives an excellent sketch of the modern Tuebingen School of Baur, Schwegler, etc., its principles, the conflict with it, and its ultimate defeat. The controversy roused by this school had this good effect, that the early history of Christianity and its sources were once more thoroughly investigated, and that both came out of the fiery trial unscathed. Again, the conflict with this kind of criticism sharpened the sight of theologians to detect the enemy all the more readily, in whatever new disguise he might appear." *

*Ferdinand Christian Baur, the founder of the "Tuebingen School" of theology, had been Professor in Blaubeuren 1817-1826, and from 1826-1860 Professor of Theology in Tuebingen. His famous essay, "Die Tuebinger Schule und Ihre Stellung zur Gegenwart," appeared in 1859. The leaders in the movement with Baur were in the beginning chiefly Wuertembergers like himself, such as Eduard Zeller, whose main work however was philosophical rather than theological, which is also true of Albert Schwegler, Professor of philosophy and classical philology at Tuebingen.

Besides the critical and historical writings of Baur himself, the chief organ of the movement was the series of "Theologische Jahrbuecher" Tuebingen, 1842-1857. Baur, starting from the positive, though strongly subjective position of Schleiermacher, soon came under the influence of the Hegelian philosophy. The essential characteristic of the "Tuebingen School" theology was the attempted reconstruction of historic Christianity, especially the Apostolic Age, from the point of view of the Hegelian philosophy of history. Its epoch-making influence however, resulted from the application of the principles of historical criticism to the study of the New Testament writings. Much of this criticism was destructive and merely negative in its results, and many of the positions of conservative theology challenged by the Tuebingen School have been recaptured on a firmer historic foundation by a more scientific and more genuinely and thoroughly historic application of the methods first applied by that School, as shown for instance, in the Pauline studies of Sir W. Ramsay.

During his first years in the Stift he became acquainted with several upper-class men whose wise and loving advice no doubt saved him from many mistakes, and after they left the University their letters continued the same kindly relation. On one occasion Adolph had shown a warm partisan interest in some passing disturbance in the Stift, and one of these friends writes: "I would beg you not to waste pathos over Stift matters in general, but only to concern yourself with your own or those of your friends. Such things are not worth the entanglements that grow out of them in later years. In the life of the Stift nothing has any value for the future, except what one has really worked at with personal interest, either in the line of scholarship or social accomplishment."

In reply to a confession of some youthful indiscretion the same far-sighted and tender friend writes: "I am not so much troubled by these things as you seem to be. I hear not only the somewhat easy-going and vacillating student whom I know, but also the strong, capable nature, with a future yet to be developed; striving to get away from the motley nothingness of student life, and still impeded by remnants of childish notions after six years of seminary training; . . . but how *can* one attain freedom, who has been so systematically kept in the dependence of infancy! . . . The spiritual growth of a Man does not go by the calendar. That will come. So, take it slowly; think of your future as your best possession. A many-sided and highly-strung

The weakness of the Tuebingen School lay in its entangling alliances with the tenets of a too subjective and *a priori* philosophy of history. Its strength lay in its contribution to the development of an objective scientific method of historic criticism in the field of theology.—(J. D. S.)

See also Article by Dr. A. Spaeth, Seminary Training Compared with German University Training, *Lutheran Church Review*, October, 1906.

nature needs more time to develop a perfectly organized and consistent character." Other enduring friendships were formed at this time with (Dr.) Paul Buder, later Professor in Tuebingen, and Rector of the University in 1891; and the brothers F. E. Kuebel, Dekan in Esslingen, 1879, and Robert B. Kuebel, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Tuebingen.

On Easter Monday, 1859, Adolph preached publicly for the first time in the church of Pastor Bilfinger at Rohracker, his theme being the Disciples at Emmaus. In 1860 or '61 he preached the sermon of which his mother writes, in 1895: "Today, Good Friday, I recall the first sermon I heard from you, on Good Friday afternoon in Nellingen. How my heart beat when I saw you so pale, ascending the pulpit stairs! But as soon as you began 'The Lamb that was slain' my anxiety was gone, and my heart was full of joy and thanksgiving, that the time for preaching had come. How many hundreds, even thousands of sermons have you preached since then, and the Lord has blessed your work. The Mayor in Nellingen was a true prophet when he congratulated me as we went out: 'Aus dem wurd Ebbes!' 'He's going to make something!'"

October 10, 1861 * he was ordained by Dekan von Buehrer, a connection of Dr. W. J. Mann, though not an uncle as has been stated, in Waiblingen, the diocese in which Bittenfeld was, where he was appointed Vikar (curate). Bittenfeld, a rambling old village, came into some prominence at the time of the great Schiller cele-

* On the same day Maria Duncan arrived in Esslingen to begin her residence in the Spaeth home there. Adolph met her for the first time October 28th, when he came from Bittenfeld to celebrate his twenty-second birthday. He found her "buried over head and ears in the German Grammar, and taking very little notice of the young Vikar. Any exchange of ideas was simply impossible, as they possessed no language in common." (Memoir.)

bration (1905), as the birthplace of Johann Caspar Schiller, father of the poet. The parsonage in Bittenfeld was very quiet and dull after Tuebingen. The family consisted of the old Pastor Arnold and his wife, one daughter of mature years, and the little dog Assur. Between him and the lonely, homesick young Vikar a warm friendship soon sprang up, and Assur forsook his former companions to follow his new favorite on his daily walks through field and forest, or to lie on his feet under the study table. One touching picture of the lack of human sympathy in the strange surroundings, is thus sketched in the Erinnerungen: "In the course of years my musical horizon had become ever wider and fuller, and having a good memory which held fast what I had heard or played, I took with me into the still-life of my first vicariate in Bittenfeld quite a respectable musical repertoire. Of course there could be no concert there, there was not even a piano in the parsonage, and my clarinet had been left in the Stift. Its notes would indeed have been misinterpreted by my peasant parishioners. And yet, in my quiet room, I many a time enjoyed a great musical treat. There happened to be several scores of Haydn's Symphonies among my books, which, through frequent rehearsal, were familiar to me in every detail. One of these I would now and then take up, and, standing on my high desk, would direct in spirit the entire Symphony from the first bar to the last, with my invisible and inaudible orchestra. There was neither audience nor spectator except the shaggy parsonage dog, my faithful Assur, who showed on these occasions how deep was the sympathy between him and his friend. As soon as I rapped for my orchestra, with a ruler for baton, he would come out from under the table and take up his position as an attentive and appreciative hearer. How he would prick up his ears and wag his tail at the tender *Andante* passages! How wildly did he applaud

Weilheim. (Tuebingen)

Bittenfeld

with his bark, the *forte* and *fortissimo,* when the kettle-drums and trumpets came in! Verily, Assur understood his Director."

"I was not conscious at that time of having any special natural gift, or any unusual endowment as orator or preacher. . . . When I was obliged to preach regularly in Bittenfeld I was in constant dread of sticking fast. My sermon was always carefully written out, and just as carefully committed to memory. I never thought of reading it in the pulpit, but always had my manuscript before me, and, although I did not glance at it, always turned leaf by leaf until I came to the Amen. Without this leading-string I thought that I must fall. Of course I realized soon enough that this could not go on. The paper stood like a wall between me and my hearers. . . . At last the matter was decided. For a week-day service when very few persons were in the village church, I took courage to leave the manuscript at home: 'This day it must bend or break!' And behold, it went all right, and from that time I was done with manuscript in the pulpit." (Erinnerungen.) Somewhat the same experience was repeated when he began to preach in English. For a long time he followed his manuscript very closely. In later years, more familiar with the language, he sometimes spoke without notes though never quite with the fire and force of his German preaching.

"During my vicariate in Bittenfeld my first attempt to hold a liturgical service was made, on Good Friday afternoon in 1862. I had been pleading for some time with my dear old pastor for permission to hold a special service in the village church, at the hour of our Saviour's death, until at last he consented. 'But what do you intend especially to do, Herr Vikar?' asked the pastor. 'Nothing unusual,' I replied, 'except that we will sing a few more verses than we generally do in our service.'

This was literally true. I announced to the congregation that we would take up together the Seven Words on the Cross, and after the remarks which I would make on each one the congregation would fall in with a verse of Hiller's hymn 'Einiger Mittler und ewiger Priester' from the Wuerttemberg Hymnbook. So it came to pass. But I had secured the 'falling in' of the congregation promptly and without any signal, like a liturgical response, by having the schoolmaster drill the children in the required verses. One glance toward the organ where the youthful singers were gathered about him, was enough, and the children's choir of one hundred voices, with organ accompaniment, was so strong and irresistible that it carried everyone with it. Many years later I met now and then an immigrant from Bittenfeld who spoke with deep emotion of that Good Friday service, and the never-to-be-forgotten impression made by it on my village congregation." (Erinnerungen.)

In Bittenfeld, Adolph applied himself to the study of theology, though haunted by the feeling that another vocation would suit him better; and was planning to spend a year in travel before making the final decision. An intimate friend writes: "The pastoral office, in spite of all his good resolutions and fresh attempts, still seems to my old friend to be a sort of grave, and so he would like to enjoy his youth yet for a time, and even take a look at all the kingdoms of the wide world, to find out whether it is not, perhaps, worth while to make common cause with the Prince thereof. . . . Epicurus still has his followers, even among the candidates in theology, who say: 'Let us eat and drink and be merry for tomorrow we die,' *i. e.*, enter upon our calling. . . . Putting on the new man is not easy. Many, to this day, try to accomplish it with a new coat, instead of a new heart. . . . But we will not shirk the strife and struggle; will not rush from one position

to another, but seek to prove all things, test and confirm them by experience, that the result may not be idle talk, but a life, a complete, energetic and sound life. . . . . And in this search we will keep our eyes and our spirit open to the Truth, that we may not be deceived by any false show."

Meanwhile the attraction of Maria Duncan's presence in Esslingen drew Adolph more and more frequently to his home. In July he had the "unspeakable joy" (Memoir.) of having her and his sister Emma among his hearers in the village church. In August the "lovely Esslingen Idyl came to an end" (ibid.) by the rather unexpected departure of Miss Duncan for Scotland. This was the last straw. The health of the young Vikar had already suffered from the sudden change to a sedentary life; he began to fear lung-trouble, and as his lonely position in Bittenfeld became unendurable, his physician advised a complete change of air and scene. Fortunately this was soon made possible by his receiving a call to accompany a wealthy invalid to Italy for the winter, as tutor to her only son.

CHAPTER III

DIE WANDERJAHRE

Italy and Scotland

1862-1864

O wandern, O wandern, du freie Burschenlust!
Da wehet Gottes Odem so frisch in der Brust!
Da singet und jauchzet das Herz im Himmelszelt:
Wie bist du doch so schoen, O du weite, weite Welt!
Geibel.

In October, 1862, the journey to Italy was begun, and early in November Adolph found himself settled for the winter in Venice, almost before he realized what was happening. November 30, 1862: "Four weeks already in Venice, and not one stroke of the pen; nothing recorded of the rushing torrent which has brought me so much in art and nature that I never experienced, never imagined! The reason may well be that the journey broke upon me like a storm; a sudden whirlwind tore me so unexpectedly from my family just as the dream of Italy, scarcely risen above the horizon of my fantasy, had sunk again,—that I only awoke in Venice, and realized where I am, and what I have here." His Diary, begun in Venice, gives many details of a life where all was so new and so fascinating. His quick sympathy went out to the Venetians, at that time under the yoke of Austria, and very often he reflects the ill-concealed bitterness of his friends as they pointed out one stately palace after another, with the remark: "Now Austrian barracks!" To his great disgust, even the Palace of the Doges was occupied by an Austrian guard. His first

visit to St. Mark's and the Campanile impressed him as a bit of the "Arabian Nights," and he said softly to little Lucien: "It *is* St. Mark's Square!" in order to assure himself that it was not a dream.

"In the hotel where our apartments were engaged for the first night, the low, narrow rooms, without light, owing to the immensely high houses which shut them in, evidently disenchanted and depressed my companions, while for my part, I took things as they came, firmly convinced that it could not be otherwise in Venice, and even found attractive features in the gloomy, close quarters." After one rainy day they moved into a far better hotel, with a view over the harbor of the Lido, pleasant but extremely expensive, and a few days later Adolph succeeded in finding a spacious, sunny apartment on the Riva, which Frau Dr. C. took for the winter. Great was the surprise of the young Swabian at the difference between German and Italian ideas of furnishing, of contracts, of common honesty; but at last the necessary conveniences were secured one by one, and the lodgings took on some degree of comfort, after much conflict with the stubborn landlady, who confessed, with a dignity and naiveté which compelled admiration, that the less her tenants insisted upon their rights, the less they received! In his unaccustomed work as tutor Adolph was also frequently goaded into righteous wrath, even though it was tempered by feeling that his little pupil was fond of him. But at an early stage he philosophically remarks: "I have no intention of letting Venice and Italy be soured for me by the mistakes of a little ignoramus in his declensions,—so, basta!" Every day when lessons were done, he and Lucien went out to explore the intricate, narrow streets of Venice, sometimes coming on unexpected points of interest, sometimes to a dead wall which forced them to ask their

way to a place from which they could make a fresh start.

The gondolas were an ever new delight to him, in their smooth motion, and in the skill with which the boatmen guided them in the narrow and often crowded canals. "As everything in Venice unites in telling of an ancient and wonderful period, and of a generation long past, so is even such a gondola an eloquent witness, a cherished relic, of the old City of the Doges. To be sure its appearance is gloomy, melancholy if you will,—I find it only serious and solemn, like a widow's mourning garb; the black color, the black fringes, the black curtains, the black, mostly ornamentally carved woodwork, the slender, boldly projecting prow, all please me exceedingly. At the same time, owing to its extreme lightness, the gondola is by far the most practical substitute for the cab, in public and private use on the Lagoons. The ease and rapidity with which it is propelled by one gondolier, using a single oar, the instant halt, when the anxious passenger thinks a collision unavoidable,—all this is a daily cause of astonishment and admiration." (Briefe aus Venedig, *Kirchenblatt,* 1887.)

But the sea, as he saw it from the Lido, was the crowning joy of all these new and wonderful experiences. One description of the waves in a storm, reads almost like blank verse,* as the lines follow the roll of the surf. And again, on the same coast, he and Lucien were children together, filling their pockets with the beautiful shells.

* Immer naeher und naeher toente das Brausen und Bruellen. . . Da lag das endlose Meer vor meinen Augen—nicht wie in jener Nacht, als ich es im Mondschein vor Triest erblickte, nicht wie an jenem goldenen Abend vom Campanile aus, als die scheidende Sonne ihr rosiges Licht ueber seine spiegelglatte, blaue Flaeche breitete;—schwarz und grau hingen die Wolken herum, dunkelgrau mit schwarzen Schattirung dehnten sich die Wasser in unabsehbarer Weite.

Toward the end of November he made the acquaintance of a youth of seventeen years, sent to Venice for his health, who did him the double service of providing a companion nearer his own age than Lucien and Ludovico, and also showing him what real weakness of the lungs meant, and thereby greatly reassuring him as to his own condition. Ludovico was the landlady's little son, who spent two hours every evening in Italian conversation over the German picture-books, "and was very proud of his honorary title: il mio piccolo maestro." From this time on Eckstein was with him almost daily, and responded well to the efforts of his new friend to rouse him from the melancholy with which Venice had so far inspired him. Adolph's first love among the paintings which adorn the churches of Venice, was the Santa Barbara ("das heilige Baebele!"), by Palma vecchio, in Santa Maria Formosa, and in every few pages we find him returning to study its beauties. "I believe," he writes, "that Eckstein is already much more contented in Venice, since I showed him the Santa Barbara!" The little family soon found pleasant friends among German residents of Venice, to whom they had letters of introduction. "This evening Eckstein called, with Frau Dr. Righetti, a pleasant, vivacious lady from Frankfurt, and we mangled the Italian language among us, that it was a joy to hear! . . . At nine o'clock I saw Eckstein home, and on the Marcusplatz, in the dazzling moonlight, we tried to be sentimental, but without much success, because Eckstein's absurd appearance always made me laugh. He had tied on his respirator, and had a bottle of milk in his hand, looking just like an Italian milk vendor! . . . Eckstein *

* Ernst Eckstein, poet and author, born February 6, 1845, in Giessen. Published his first work, "Schach der Koenigen," while in Paris, 1870. A prolific writer whose poetic talent "showed itself preëminently in a rich fancy, a constant flow of humor, and

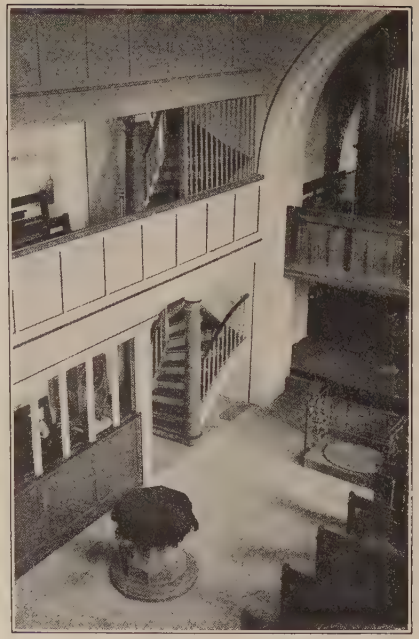
asked me what I thought of Woman in general,—a funny question!—on such an evening!" (Diary.)

We cannot give in detail his description of the treasures of art and architecture familiar to everyone who has visited Venice. The old Masters whose work pleased him became as personal friends to him. The pictures of others were "elende Sudeleien," wretched daubs! Some of the churches were too ornate for his taste, though now and then he appreciates the immense amount of money they must have cost. Grand simplicity and magnificent proportions appealed to him more. In the Ducal Palace many of the historical frescoes he found monotonous and stiff, and the wrath of the young Swabian bursts out: "What did it help the stately Barbarossa to say *'non tibi sed Petro'*—he knelt nevertheless before Alexander III, and the insolent Italian looked down on the Imperial throne of Germany!"

In the street scenes he was greatly interested, in the ever changing crowd, besieged by beggars and street vendors of every description, in the festivals and processions of the Catholic Church, and in the happy-go-lucky Venetians of the lower orders, eating melons and sweetmeats or sunning themselves on the broad marble stairs, with the Austrian flag waving merrily over them!

An excursion to Isola san Lazaro, an Armenian cloister, was the most interesting event of its kind in Venice. The cloister was surrounded by lovely gardens and afforded a fine view of the city. A majestic, black-bearded old brother showed the gentlemen over the whole building, while the ladies of the party were allowed to entertain themselves in the garden. The corridors reminded Adolph of his beloved Blaubeuren, ex-

unusual mastery over rhythm and rhyme."—(*Meyer's Konversations-Lexikon.*)



Pulpit and Font in Bittenfeld

cept that they enclosed a court laid out in beautiful flower beds, "whereas our enterprising horticulturists would have covered this space with radishes, beets and other useful kitchen truck." The chapel was not particularly interesting, but in the upper corridors hung paintings of Armenian abbots and priors, fine heads among them, mostly of a decidedly oriental type, and here an aged brother with a long white beard passed them, who, they were told, was 106 years old! The library contained many valuable Manuscripts. Codices in every language "stood up in the high glass cases like men in armor;" and, most astonishing of all, there lay an Egyptian mummy, "a heathen priest" more than 3,000 years old! No wonder that the dreamy boy indulges in a long paragraph of speculation as to what would happen if the "heathen priest" should suddenly open his eyes on the towering Alps, instead of the pyramids which he would naturally expect! And no wonder, after seeing the beautifully illuminated Armenian manuscripts, that the two friends resolved to study at least the 36 letters of this alphabet at once! What did they not resolve to study! Armenian, English, Italian, Greek poets, stenography,—and always the soft Italian air, the golden sunshine, the luxurious gondolas, the "dim religious light" of the churches, the music in the Marcusplatz, drew them away again, and study could wait for a more convenient season.

Sunday in Venice was much like other days, except that a few quiet hours were usually devoted to home letters. But near the end of the year the Diary records a new and interesting experience. December 28, 1862: "Today is Sunday, and I resolved, at any cost, to carry out my long cherished wish to attend the Church of the Jesuits and hear the sermon. As I entered the church exactly at eleven, the Mass continued for a few minutes longer, giving me time for a hasty glance

over the interior of the building. The walls are inlaid with verd-antique; the wonderful pillars, the vaulted ceiling, painted and gilded, the light admitted only from above and subdued by crimson drapery,—produced altogether a magical effect. I found a good place on a small bench near a confessional, just opposite the pulpit. The church was already very full, but when the Mass ended and the sermon began, still greater crowds pressed in, so that I lost the opening sentences in the confusion. But soon everything became absolutely still, and now I found to my delight how plainly and with what sharp accent the preacher spoke, so that every letter impressed itself on the ear. His attitude was very quiet at first, but as he gradually grew warmer, his arms and hands, his eyes, his gestures, all spoke and preached together. It seemed as if his feet even, must soon be drawn into action,—and sure enough, now he takes a few steps to the right, then again to the left. In short, he is all motion, life, fire. At home, in sober Germany, our eyes would probably be offended by this 'theatrical' delivery, as we should certainly judge it. Here in Italy, I believe it cannot be otherwise, and even the most animated German preacher would seem stiff and dull to the Italian. For *Pathos,* and indeed a tremendous amount of pathos, is put into every sentence spoken by the common people, the gondoliers, the beggar boys, and that is what they also expect from the pulpit. I must confess that I was not at all disturbed by the sight of this lively action. It is as if the sound of the Italian inevitably struck out sparks, and, if it is to be rightly declaimed, arms and legs, even the whole body, must be set going! Moreover, the sermon was anything but a vulgar screaming and haranguing. It was very fine, absolutely seemly and proper, and after every violent explosion the preacher quickly resumed his first quiet, steady manner. So much for the delivery.

"As to the address itself, I could hardly expect in listening to my first sermon that every sentence would stand clearly and word for word before me. But I understood all the thoughts of the speaker, and could follow the sense almost step by step. He spoke of the Divine Law of the Gospel, how it might be burdensome or light, of the sacrifices demanded by this law; and on the other hand of the chains rivetted upon man by the dominion of the world. His sermon was richly adorned with stories from the lives of the Saints, all of which he presented in such a charming, vivid way, that the whole scene was before our eyes. They all served to prove that the Divine Law was not only easily fulfilled, but certain of fulfilment, as God could not be such a tyrant as to demand something impossible of us, and attach the death penalty to our failure to do His will. . . . And any one who had listened attentively and with a sincere heart must have been carried with him, when, at the close of his sermon, the preacher, with an eloquent gesture toward the crucifix at his left, cried earnestly: 'Amate, amate Gesum!' Then I saw why the crucifix is on the pulpit, and how it must help the action, adding to it at the right moment a wonderful power and conviction.

"Now a word about the audience. It was gratifying to see how perfectly still the people were, refraining from anything which could have disturbed the preacher, or forced him to strain his voice in speaking. There was no coughing, no clearing of the throat, no display of handkerchiefs, which with us at home, especially in winter, so often reduce the preacher almost to despair. Only when the Pater made a pause and sat down, the opportunity was quickly used, and all over the assembly the coughing, with whatever similar observances there may be, received proper attention. When he rose, everyone was at once still as

a mouse. The audience consisted mostly of women and girls, for whom the highly colored language seemed particularly designed. For the sake of the girls many a languishing young Venetian goes to church, as there are no barriers here between the sexes. They sit together wherever there is a vacant place, the learned Doctor and the ragged beggar woman, the Venetian beauty beside or in front of her adorer, as she prefers." So fascinated was the young Wuerttemberg theologian by this orator, that he attended no less than three services in the Church of the Jesuits, during the short time remaining to him in Venice.

Christmas, New Year, Epiphany all had passed by, and Adolph began to long to get away from Venice. Various plans were discussed and abandoned. Once it was proposed that he and Lucien should go alone to Florence, but to his great disappointment this was not to be. Their movements were made more uncertain by repeated hemorrhages which rendered Frau Dr. C. unfit to travel. At last, February 8th, they left Venice in fog so dense that they could only guess from Baedeker where they were. In Milan and Genoa they halted, and on the 12th took a carriage and four, for three days' drive along the Western Riviera, from Genoa to Mentone. Adolph writes, exultant: "Here at last is the real, old, comfortable style of travelling, with one's own driver, one's own carriage, and *such* a gay team!"

The journey was indescribably beautiful, and the scenery changed continually as the road descended to the sea, or climbed among the foot-hills, to give them new glimpses of Genoa. Sometimes it wound along steep precipices, where one false step would have cost the lives of the whole party, sometimes it passed groups of laughing children, of fishermen drying their nets, of women with skirts tucked up, wading in the clear water to catch crabs. The vegetation, becoming more and

more tropical as they approached the frontier, was particularly interesting to Adolph, and when, on the last day, palm trees mingled with olive and orange groves, his delight was unbounded. These three perfect days, spent under the open sky in the most beautiful part of Europe, were the fitting close to the wonderful Italian journey.*

From the middle of February until the last of April Adolph remained in Mentone, his duties resolving themselves more and more into long walks with Lucien, gathering the loveliest spring flowers, fishing, sailing, rowing, donkey rides, and picnics among the ruins of ancient castles. Palm Sunday and Holy Week were celebrated with great ceremony, but largely taken by the populace as an entertainment; long processions of church dignitaries, and noisy imitations of the crowing cock by the street gamins; the dead Christ borne through the town on a bier, and bagpipes screeching before the door. For his own spiritual use Adolph had less than nothing. "The Easter bells which once saved Faust from despair, brought me to the verge of desperation, beginning so early and ringing most of the night."

They made a short stay in Nice, Toulon, and Marseilles. Approaching Lyons the beech woods and vineyards were to Adolph welcome messengers from home, and in the Hotel de Lyon they found "supreme *comfort,* and—everything German!" Through Geneva to Vevey for a fortnight, through Lausanne, Basel, meeting his sister there, and over the Rhine into Germany, where the language was spoken "with a German accent," through Freiberg and Baden, they travelled into Wuerttemberg with its familiar comfortable cars. "How

*In 1887 an interesting series of Letters from Venice appeared in the *Kirchenblatt.* These had been put together from Mr. Spaeth's Diary at the request of a German periodical, during his winter in Scotland, but had never been published.

my heart throbbed, when, after the Rosenstein tunnel, my lovely Neckar valley revealed itself, as Cannstatt, Unter-and Obertuerkheim flew quickly past, and now the dear old Frauenkirchthurm greeted me from its height! Adieu Venice! Genoa! Nice! Adieu, rich and beautiful world! Home is most beautiful of all!"

For a while the travellers settled in Lichtenthal near Baden-Baden, where Adolph became acquainted with Dr. Mallet * of Bremen, with whom he spent many happy hours, and whom he revered for the rest of his life. His engagement as tutor was closed, and he was thinking of returning home, when he heard that Dr. Duncan was about to visit Bohemia, accompanied by his daughter, who intended to take the cure in Karlsbad for several weeks, after which they would spend a fortnight in Esslingen. His first thought was to avoid meeting her, and he tried to find a position in Switzerland which would have kept him at a safe distance for the summer. But this was not to be, and after visiting

* "Pastor Friedrich Ludwig Mallet (1792-1865) Doctor of Theology and Pastor Primarius of St. Stephan's in Bremen, was one of the distinguished men, my acquaintance with whom has cast sunshine on my path through life. He was an original, brilliant preacher, always ready to give battle for the Gospel; a patriot filled with burning love for his German Fatherland, and with joyful hope for its future; possessing withal a healthy, happy Christian spirit, a childlike appreciation for the beautiful, the good, the true, wherever they were found,—an unusually magnetic personality. At the time of the Napoleonic war he had been a student in Tuebingen, and had joined the Nassau Battalion, with which he crossed the Rhine. . . . . Wherever he went he drew to himself the interest and affection of kindred spirits. . . . . To the young Wuerttemberg Candidate he was most kind, and in parting, after several weeks of loveliest intercourse, gave him a warm, paternal kiss. He continued to write to me in Philadelphia, and sent me several of his sermons on important occasions, such as the Jubilee of the battle of Leipzig, October 18, 1863. He died May 6, 1865."—(Ms. note to a poem written by A. S. to Dr. Mallet in Lichtenthal.)

his friend Eckstein for a few weeks at his home in Giessen, he accepted a call as Vikar in Groetzingen, not far away from Esslingen. Scarcely was he settled there, when the eagerly expected guests arrived, on the 8th of August, and he found time not only to receive them, but to make almost daily visits home. When they left, he, at least, knew that it was to be a short parting, with "auf Wiedersehen" in Edinburgh.

Miss Duncan wrote to a friend in Edinburgh: "You ask about A. He is now considerably better, though not very strong and as yet scarcely able for the somewhat strenuous duty of a 'Vikar.' The day before we left Esslingen a letter came to Mutterle from a German minister * who had been requested to look out for a theological student or young minister, who would be willing to go for a year or two to Scotland as tutor in the Duke of Argyle's family.† He wrote to ask if Adolph could go. He, however, was already in a new charge, and, besides, was doubtful of getting leave of absence from the Church. Since we left, however, I hear it is most probable that he will obtain this leave and come. . . As you seem to take such an interest in him I have given you this lengthy account, which I hope may satisfy you."

The final acceptance of this offer was delayed by the slowness of the Consistorium in issuing the necessary leave of absence, which involved more or less red tape. Even after all the preliminaries seemed to be arranged, Lord B. wrote to Pastor Schmid in great consternation. He had received a letter from young Spaeth written in *German,* from which he inferred that he knew no English, and would not do at all! Whereupon the Herr

* Stadtpfarrer Rudolf Schmid, later Praelat of Heilbron, who was tutor in the Duke of Argyle's family, 1854-58.

† Not immediately. His first position was with relatives of the Duchess.

Vikar was requested to write an English letter as sample, and though it must have cost him great effort, for at that time he knew almost nothing of the language, he succeeded in reassuring his Lordship.

It had been arranged that Adolph was to begin his work in Karlsbad, travel for a while with the only son of Lord B., and then go on to Scotland. On the 10th of October he took leave of the dear home which he was destined not to see again for years, and three days later reached Karlsbad, having enjoyed one day in Nuremberg on the way. His Lordship was very kind, "but how often could I only respond to his friendly questions, with my stupid 'How do you mean?'" He writes: "Only the fourth day, and how long it seems already! My life here is very curious; today one lesson, and my own master the rest of the time. . . Without being homesick I find this loneliness singularly oppressive. His Lordship is fine and friendly as ever, but I cannot rid myself of the constantly recurring thought that I shall not remain long, and that we shall never understand each other, *i. e.*, in speech. The solution is so simple: practice English all day long. Oh, yes, if I only had some one with whom I could converse! . . . If my pupil would come to me more regularly, I should certainly make better progress. . . ."

But the pupil was homesick, and being a delicate and much indulged boy, decided suddenly to go back to Scotland instead of to Berlin as planned, and on the 21st of October the two set off together for London where Adolph was kindly received by Lady B. He saw something of the great city, but was cheated at every point. "I am still far too goodnatured and guileless for London!"

In Scotland he made good progress in English, delighted after one week, that he understood an English sermon fairly well, though he had not yet enough of the

language to make him feel at ease in his strange surroundings. The hopeless task of teaching an unwilling pupil was relieved by mornings spent in rabbit stalking, which he enjoyed because it took him into the fresh and invigorating air. It was very seldom that anything serious happened to the rabbit, an outcome with which both he and Adolph were entirely satisfied. In November he writes: "Yesterday, in a pouring rain, across the Clyde with the oxen, to fetch a load of wood! If such forced marches do not make me sick—and, thank God, so far that is not the case,—they must harden my health and strength! . . . This morning for the third time in the adjacent Scotch church, a simple, pretty building with one of those flat towers so common in England, more suitable for barracks than for the house of God, to which they give a certain defiant, warlike character . . toned down here, however, by the rich ivy, covering the walls and pillars and windows up to the roof. The interior of the church, like the service, is as simple as possible . . . . organ and altar are wanting. The place of the former is filled by a tailor, with a powerful, though uncultivated voice, who bravely leads the national psalmody."

His presentiment was fulfilled. Apparently by an arrangement between the two noble families, he was transferred to that of the Duke of Argyle, and it was a great relief to him when, on the 21st of November, Lord Archibald Campbell arrived, to conduct him to his new position in Roseneath and Inveraray. Two days were spent in Edinburgh, and then, on to Roseneath. He found Lord Archibald a handsome, clever gentleman of seventeen years, speaking German very well, so there was no lack of conversation. The situation of Roseneath is thus described by Praelat Schmid in an article: Reiseerinnerungen aus den westl. Hochland von Schottland. "My first point was the peninsula

Roseneath, erroniously called an island in Scott's 'Heart of Midlothian.' At Glasgow the Clyde is still a river, though navigable for ocean steamers. . . Gradually it widens to a bay, called Firth, and from it, opposite Greenock a smaller bay branches, Gare Loch. Between the Firth of Clyde and Gare Loch lies the indescribably beautiful peninsula Roseneath. . . . This peninsula is already a foreshadowing of the Highlands; its hills exhale their fragrance and bear the stamp of their solemnity, while lower down, the villa-strewn shores of the bay form a charming landscape. . . . Here the influence of the Gulf Stream shows itself in the magnificent trees, not even equalled in the lower Alps, and its warmth and humidity cause an astonishing growth in all vegetation. . . The climate is so mild in winter that fuchsias grow wild." In this lovely spot Adolph found himself much more comfortable than he had been for some time. The beautiful home life, the regular family worship, the genuineness of it all, impressed him deeply. And to the great natural beauty of Roseneath, which he never tires of describing, was added an utter peace very soothing to him. Undoubtedly much of his satisfaction was due to the fact that his tongue was loosed after the restraint of the past weeks. "What a different man one is, when he can speak his own language, can pour out his thoughts as they rise and grow, and not mere words, which one allows to tinkle now and then, in order to call attention to himself or for practice."

On the 26th of November, Lord Archibald and Adolph left Roseneath, taking a steamer up the Bay. The water was rough, and the vessel very unsteady, owing to its light cargo. Adolph had to learn to balance himself, but enjoyed the trip, finding in the disturbed water something new and grand, rather than dangerous. Gradually the Bay narrowed to Loch Goil, and they

began to see the Highlands, wild peaks covered only with heather and low growth, or bare rocks under which the rough water dashed, as the steamer slowly made its way along the shore. Innumerable cascades, large and small, enlivened the scene. In Lochgoil Head they took the stage for the next part of the journey, through wild mountain scenery with no vestige of life except the grazing sheep and goats, but always with the rustling of the water-falls. After two hours they reached the top, and saw Loch Fyne spread out before them, with its frame of beautiful wooded hills, and across it Inveraray and the black castle. The descent took them through a real Highland village, where his attention was drawn to the primitive houses, made of stones piled together, instead of being laid in walls, and then covered with earth and straw. Once more they took a steamer, which carried them across Loch Fyne, and at the landing they were met by Lord Lorne and the younger brothers Walter and Colin. Adolph was received most cordially, and after dinner, so happy was he, that he "hammered away on the grand piano one piece after another for his unmusical but music-thirsty young lords—in short, it was all right," and his vague fears of another disappointment were dispersed.

His life at once became full of work and interest. Lord Lorne, six years younger than he, was rather a friend than a pupil, with whom he only read German and from whom he received many kindly hints as to English conventionalities, besides valuable suggestions in his English reading and translating, and friendly encouragement in all the manly exercises, skating, riding, rowing, hunting, and tremendously long walks to which the sturdy young Campbells were much addicted. "Herr Spaeth" shared his responsibilities with the English tutor, Mr. Arthur, a young Anglican clergyman, with whom his relations were very pleasant. Mr.

Arthur, being much annoyed by the ease with which the little boys planned their mischief under his very eye, by speaking German which he did not understand, arranged for an exchange of language lessons with his colleague, so that Adolph's progress in English was rapid. He soon began to translate Longfellow's Evangeline, turning it into German hexametres.

After a few weeks in the wild and wonderfully interesting surroundings of Inveraray, where the very air was saturated with the history of brave, but often ill-fated Argyles,* the boys with their tutors, returned to Roseneath for the Christmas holidays. Herr Spaeth was encouraged by the Duchess to visit Edinburgh over Christmas, and spent several days there. "Edinburgh, December 24, 1863. So *this* is where my Diary is dated on Christmas Eve! Could I have dreamed of such a thing one year ago, as I took my lonely midnight walk in Venice! The last few days, with the preparations for the tree at Roseneath, have been at least a reminder of all the Christmas doings at home." Late in the afternoon he had reached Dr. Duncan's house in Buccleuch Place. "How kindly I was received again, by everyone! How lovely Mia was this evening! But when is she not!" On Christmas morning they attended service together in the German chapel.† "My offer to preach there came too late. I should have been very glad to do so." The holidays were a round of breakfasts, teas and

* At Inveraray was a book of family portraits. That of the Marquis of Argyle, beheaded in 1661, was framed in drops of blood which had been allowed to drip from his head!

† An article in the *Zeitschrift,* November 1, 1879, noticed the laying of the corner stone of this first German church in Scotland, after the congregation had existed for eighteen years, holding service in a hall. The pastor, Herr Blumenreich, mentioned frequently in the Diary of A. S., was a converted Jew, which probably accounts for Dr. Duncan's interest in his work. The confessional position of the congregation was that of the Prussian Union.

visits in the hospitable homes of Dr. Duncan's friends, many of whom knew of Adolph's aspirations, and sympathized with the shy young foreigner.

We may refer briefly to a subject which, at this time, was causing Adolph great disturbance and perplexity. The dreams of his future which had seemed so like realities in Esslingen, had vanished, and in place of them he was confronted with the—Westminster Confession! When he asked Dr. Duncan formally for his daughter's hand, the tender hearted but sternly righteous old man wrote to him, November 16, 1863: "In my last I gave expression to the feeling of peculiar interest which I must ever have in one who has honored my child by bestowing on her his affection. But when as a father, I am appealed to, I find it a matter of extreme difficulty to give an answer. . . . I would not like my daughter to become a German nor a Lutheran. Let me not be misunderstood. To Martin Luther, as an honored instrument of God, we are glad to acknowledge our great obligations, and in the Lutheran Church Christ has many faithful ministers and believing people,—may their number be greatly increased, and grace, mercy and peace multiplied to them all. But besides doctrinal differences there are others, liturgical and governmental, which I do not deem matters of indifference or of only small importance, whatever they may be, if compared with the primary and fundamental verities of our holy faith. When I say I would not like my daughter to be a German, I own that I would not so deeply regret that she should be the wife of a German Reformed pastor,—tho' there are things which I do not like in the Reformed Churches of the continent.

"But to express my mind without reserve, would the matter have (I say not my bare consent, but) my full and cordial concurrence: . . if upon serious prayerful study of the Westminster Confession of faith, com-

paring it with the Word of God—the only rule of faith and duty—you were ready to declare your *bona fide* consent to it; and if you were ready to cast in your lot with us and become a minister of our Free Church, which, if other impediments were out of the way, I feel confident that want of English, with your talents and opportunities duly improved need not prevent."

Not only the Confession but the Catechism and the lives of many heroes of the Scottish Church were read by Adolph after receiving this letter. Often, in comparison with the Word, the Rule of Faith, the Confession did not seem to him to be confirmed; cf. II Peter 2: 1, I John 2: 2, for example. After a very earnest discussion with Dr. Duncan "de Regenerationi" he writes in despair: "Theoretically I can often well understand it and appreciate it,—but practically, *practically! What* then shall I preach to my people?" His faithful friend Karl Hole wrote to him about this time: "Theological disputations, even for the theologian are not the way to salvation; and the English" (by which he means those who speak that language) "so stubborn in confessional matters, are not good Christians because they cling so tenaciously to their own opinions, but, in spite of that, when they acknowledge that to love Christ is a thousand times better than to accept the Calvinistic system. . . For Calvin's theology and piety I have all respect, but as Reformer he cannot hold a candle to our Luther. As Reformer Luther showed that he had hit the nail on the head in that he did not first require a long mental process in order to be sure of his faith, but frankly laid hold on it and, like a happy child, held fast to the revelation of divine mystery, to the incarnate Word, and to the personal Christ, as He offers us His grace and truth in Word and Sacrament. Faith in Christ bears in itself its assurance and guarantee, without investigating our own progress in sanctification, or the hidden Will of

God. It is satisfied with that grace which is sufficient for us. . . . Follow the impulse of your own heart, dear friend, study the Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions earnestly, so the truth shall make you free, and lift you up from the tormenting legality * of the Calvinist, to the joy of the children of God, in truth and love."

In the course of his reading he came across the story of a minister who had been turned out of his parish for preaching the love of God for every child of Adam, and that Christ died for every man. For such views the Presbytery "recorded their detestation and abhorrence." Adolph adds: "To a Confession of Faith, that can be used as the authority for such procedure I can *never* subscribe!" While Adolph was seeking light Dr. Duncan wrote, in answer to a letter from Roseneath: "The human mind is always prone to run into extremes. When aroused from sloth, we are apt to run into precipitancy. . . . God indeed can, if He please, flood your mind with light, but He can also make your path as the shining light, which 'shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' The last is most commonly His way; but we must not venture to prescribe to Him. . . . Wait upon the Lord and He will make your way plain. Hold fast what you have already learned of Him, and *pray* for more, *study* for more, and *act* for more. . . He can make the little time which you have to yourself exceedingly fruitful. Remember leaven and mustard

* A touching scene is described in the Life of Dr. Duncan (Dr. David Brown, Edinburgh, 1872.) When his first wife, a most devoted and consistent Christian, was dying, he "wandered in and out of the room, constantly repeating passages of Scripture, and praying often. Once he quoted 'Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty,' when he went out weeping, saying: 'Your eyes shall soon see Him, dearie.' *Next day,* however, he would not say he was *sure* she was in heaven."

seed. Be diligent, but be *patient,* be *humble,* be *confiding.*"

Undoubtedly this earnest study under the direction of Dr. Duncan, while it did not lead to the result for which the old gentleman hoped, did serve to fix Adolph's religious convictions, and to give to his character the stability it had lacked. His mother wrote to Maria a few months later: "I recognize that the Spirit of God has been working mightily on Adolph during his stay in Scotland. He is so happy that the Lord has shown him the answer to the chief question of his heart: What shall I do to be saved? . . . Your dear Papa is surely happy also, over Adolph's development, in which he too has been an instrument."

Another valuable result of this theological conflict was, that it brought him to a clearer understanding of Miss Duncan's position. She had written: "I love my own country, my own home, my own countrymen so much, that I feel it would need *particularly* strong love to make the sacrifice of giving them all up to one of another nation." Adolph acknowledges "that is as natural and true as anything could be, and the more I learn of Scotland and the Scotch, the better I understand those words. My great fault was that I did not sooner try frankly to put myself in her place. How would it be if I were now called to make this sacrifice for *her?* Would blind love silence the voice of criticism and of conscience? No indeed! For I know that if I should give up everything else, my conviction I could not sacrifice. That is, I cannot subscribe to the Westminster Confession. . . . So, come what may, be impartial, Alter; and look the thing in the face, if she, whom you love, cannot do that which you, with all your love, would not do."

For some months Adolph's health and spirits had suffered under the combination of his own unhappiness,

his theological conflicts, the war and political disturbances in Germany, and the Scotch fog! Of the article in the Confession, God's Eternal Decree, he writes: "I see no way out, nor how I shall ever get this matter cleared up; often everything seems turning round me, in a circle!" Receiving a copy of Dr. Mallet's address on the Leipzig anniversary, October 18th: "How good it was for me to read these strong, earnest German words here, where every day, in the English papers, I see nothing but antipathy to our German interests! . . . Poor Germany! Has she not yet reached the end of her humiliation and mockery? Is the cup of her sorrow not yet emptied? I do not know how I can help, nor what I would do if I were at home, but in such critical moments I seem to feel the separation from Fatherland most bitterly." Again: "What a whimsical weathercock I am! Today the fog has lifted at last, and my heart is light as it has not been for a long time." Later: "A dreary day, but the weather shall no longer disturb the balance of my mind. . . . I believe it is rather childish and weak not to emancipate oneself better from outside influences."

Meanwhile, on this sombre background played the lights and shadows of life at Roseneath for a few weeks longer. Changes had been made in the plans for educating the boys. Archie was to go to Bonn after Easter, and on the 12th of March, very courteously and kindly, the Duchess told Adolph that his services were no longer needed. "If I thought only of the drudgery of teaching, I could make light of it, could even be glad to get rid of this bondage; but so many plans for work which I was just about to take up, come to nothing." In Italy he had written: "My old friend Kastendax * wrote me

* Pastor Emil Wagner, who had been tutor under rather unusually pleasant conditions. "So you are lusting after the fleshpots of R.? It is not at all bad in my nest here; in this unctuous

once, 'the position of a tutor is after all only a glittering misery'—I wonder if there is any truth in it?" About the same period he had comforted himself for some lack of consideration: "Is it necessary for you, everywhere, to sit as warm as toast in your Swabian comfort? *That* you could have at home in Wuerttemberg. But in that case one stays at home,—and sees nothing of the world."

Hole writes: "Surprises and wonderful transformations seem to come naturally in your career. Therefore this latest turn in your fate has not specially excited me; it was to be expected from the very beginning, at least under the circumstances which seem actually to have arisen—that you would not be able, with your entire energy and endurance, to give yourself up utterly to the instruction and entertainment of your pupils, as your English patrons seem to have wished. I do not consider it a misfortune that this pleasant connection is broken off again so soon; you have not been in your element. But, what next? . . . I can perfectly well put myself in your place; free as a bird, you can decide upon any course, and on the other hand can decide upon nothing because you have no clear indication from above."

During his few remaining weeks Adolph used every opportunity to learn more of Scotland, of its customs and scenery. The observance of Holy Week which had so shocked him the year before in Mentone, pleased him no better in Scotland; rabbit hunting with ferrets on Thursday, and Good Friday ignored. He went with Mr. Arthur to the Episcopal church, "at least to be in a

atmosphere of friendliness the heart is inclined to expand like a steamed dumpling. . . . but you must first become much more quiet and steady. The position of tutor can be a glittering—misery, according to how well one understands what is required in this peculiar life."

church," but the long liturgy tired him. "It is right pretty, and certainly compiled with taste, but I would not like it every Sunday!" Lord Lorne spoke with regret of his approaching departure, and advised him before leaving the Highlands to see Iona and Staffa, offering him the use of a small lodge on the Island of Mull, belonging to the Duke. Adolph had already planned this trip, but was obliged to give it up.

At the end of April he had not the slightest idea what his next step would be. "Often I cannot understand myself how I can be so quiet and free from care as to my future. The thought of parting often weighs very heavily. O Scotland, how beautiful, how lovely thou art!" After the Christmas holidays Adolph had not returned to Inveraray, but the great natural beauty and diversity of his surroundings in Roseneath appealed to him more and more, especially the curious play of light in which Scotland is so rich. After a storm he notes the peculiar light in the clouds and on the Loch as very wonderful, the violet color in the air contrasting with the dark grey water, and the white-capped waves. Much time was spent on the Loch, sometimes rowing with his young pupils, whose oars followed the rhythm of his singing; sometimes alone in the light mahogany boat, rowing or letting the rippling waves carry him along the shore of the peninsula, quite undisturbed by any sign of life except a gull now and then, floating in the clear sky above him, or a passing steamer, the waves in whose wake gently rocked his "nutshell" long after it had gone by.

The Diary tells how, one winter night, the moonlight tempted them, and, toward midnight, he, with Archie and Walter went out through the woods to Green Isle. The sharp shadows; the reflection of the trees on the frozen surface of the fish pond; the soft motion of the incoming tide on the Loch; the rustling through the dry

leaves, of some wild thing disturbed in its rest; flocks of ravens and crows which flew screaming from tree to tree; the call of the wild ducks along the shore, answered by the whistle of the curlew or the melancholy Uhu! of the owl, made a deep impression on him.

On the 18th of May he left Roseneath. In the morning Lord Lorne brought him a fine set of English Poets, Scott, Byron, Milton and Tennyson. . . . . "My retrospect of the time spent in the Argyle family must fill me with deepest gratitude toward Him who directed my steps hither. Apart from the interesting picture of life in this old, noble family, typically Scotch, and bearing the impress of a certain patriarchal charm, down to the old gardeners and boatmen, Matthew Bell, Sandy, Chalmers and Duncan Revy—the castle library, and the friendliness with which I was always treated, opened to me a rich treasure, which extended my knowledge in many directions, and greatly facilitated my researches in Scottish life, feeling and thought. . . . My heart is full of thanksgiving for all the love and kindness which I have enjoyed here, especially from Lord Lorne."

Three hours' dusty ride brought him to Edinburgh. By invitation of Dr. Duncan, Adolph went at once to Devana Cottage to which the family had moved since his last visit, finding it a simple, pleasant home, with a bit of garden, and an outlook over the fields, "quite like the country."

The General Assembly was in session, and Adolph, having received a Delegate's ticket by courtesy of a friend, was able to attend many of the meetings, especially in the evening. Long afterwards the Erinnerungen went into much greater detail than the Diary gives, of the Assembly and of the profound impression made by it on the young Wuerttemberg theologian. All winter, in spite of the Westminster Confession, an active correspondence had been going on between Roseneath

and Edinburgh, and it needed only a few days now to bring matters to a conclusion. On the morning of May 23d, Adolph received the "remarkable letter" from Philadelphia. "How wonderful that it did not take me one minute to accept this call, which, a year ago, I should have considered absolutely impossible. It is a great, great step that I am taking. But I believe it is once more the grasp of that mighty Hand from above, which, at important crises, lifts me and sets me in a place of which I had not thought." The same day he received an offer of a tutor's position near Dublin, which he would have taken if the answer to Zion's call had not already been mailed.* In the afternoon Miss Duncan took her guest to Arthur's Seat, from which they had a very beautiful view of Edinburgh and its suburbs, spreading out on all sides, but mostly in the direction of the Firth of Forth, whose clear blue waters stretched as far as eye could reach, toward the North Sea. To the North the Scotch mountains rose, grey and misty. "We settled ourselves on the south side of a sheltering rock, at our feet lay the fish pond of Duddingstone, with its white swans, and the luxuriant trees on all sides. And there, at last, 'Ach du klarblauer Himmel' came true!" Adolph marked the friendly rock with the monogram A. M. "What now was Nice, and the Gulf of Genoa, or the Lake of Geneva, compared with Arthur's Seat,—the Firth of Forth below, the blue sky above, and that heaven in the heart!" In the evening they were at the General Assembly until midnight.

On the 31st of May the betrothal took place with Dr. Duncan's full consent: "I could not blame you that you have broken through." In a few days Adolph removed to lodgings, and Dr. and Miss Duncan left home

* This call was accepted for one year, until his leave of absence from Wuerttemberg should expire.

for a short stay in Gourock. After seeing them off Adolph took his own train to Kirkaldy, where he was invited to visit the family of the Rev. John Black whose sister was an intimate friend of Miss Duncan. Several days were filled by excursions to points of historical interest or commanding fine views of lake and mountain; and again he had opportunity to enjoy the simple, open-hearted Scotch hospitality which he found so charming.

Adolph's remaining weeks in Scotland passed quickly. He made frequent trips to Gourock and Roseneath, and preached several times to the German congregation in Edinburgh. Pages on pages of the Diary are filled with verses, some of which appear in the Memoir. The prettiest of these is the play on the name "Mia," in Greek the One, in Italian Mine.

"MIA."

Lieblich und fein hast in kindlichem Sinn du dich Mia geheissen,
Lieblich des Wortes Music; fein ist der doppelte Sinn:
Lange Zeit warst du mir *Mia*, die *Eine*, nach der ich verlangte;
Nun, da ichs gluecklich erreicht, *Mia*, die *Meine* du bist.

He had many invitations, generally agreeable enough. Once he writes: "Such an evening as this was! *Solus homo* among seven respectable Scotch ladies! . . . I must write down my engagements, or I shall forget them."

Soon after Maria returned to Edinburgh Adolph's preparations for the voyage were completed, and on the 13th of July he sailed from Liverpool on the City of Washington, for New York. Late in the evening of the 14th they left Queenstown Bay, having been delayed by belated passengers and mail. Adolph was very melancholy as the last tie with his beloved Europe was severed. For some time he paced the moonlit deck, overwhelmed with conflicting emotions, but gradually the

beautiful night, the mirror-like sea, the sweet, invigorating breeze, and the bright evening star toward which they were steering, had the usual effect on him. "These formed too friendly an escort to permit me to indulge long in my moody humor. In Gottes Namen then, across the Sea!"

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW WORLD

Philadelphia

1864-1867

> Es ist mir selbst ein Raethsel, dass ich alter guter Deutscher jetzt fast mehr nach Amerika denke, als wie ich frueher in Amerika nach Deutschland dachte. Die freie Kirche hat doch einen wunderbaren Reiz. Wer den einmal gekostet hat, dem schmeckt das Brot Egyptens nicht mehr. . . . Ich trage noch immer die Wunde im Herzen, den Gedanken an Amerika. Er ist Jahrzehnte lang ein Gedanke des Grauens gewesen; seit ich dort war aber der Inhalt meiner Sehnsucht. . . . Seit ich hier Kirchenrat bin, weiss ich erst wie gut es ein amerikanischer Pastor hat.
>
> *Dr. Justus Ruperti.*

From the "Erinnerungen eines Philadelphia Pastors" (*Kirchenbote,* 1906 - 1908) we take most of the following details. For a time Dr. Spaeth thought of collecting these articles in book form, and had made many corrections and additions with this end in view. Later the idea was given up, but to his biographer they are a treasury of information at first hand, given with all the genial simplicity and humor of the straightforward Swabian.

"These reminiscences naturally begin by telling how it happened that I came to Philadelphia. For, to be quite open, this will always be, in my eyes, the most remarkable event of my life. If there were ever a Candidate of theology in Germany, who did not think of such a thing, and had not the slightest desire to seek

A. Spaeth

c. 1864.

his field of labor in America, it was the writer of these lines. Indeed he may candidly say, that in his youth he was as un-American, even anti-American as a young German could be, who felt that every fibre of his heart was rooted in his German Fatherland and home. But in the providence of God, without the slightest idea on my part, I had been sent to a fine preparatory school for American church-life, to Scotland, where for nearly a year I taught in one of the best families of the old nobility. There I had not only opportunity to become familiar with the English language and literature, but also learned to know and prize the loveliest side of English life, in the fixed customs of a truly patriarchal home. And moreover, through my venerable friend Dr. Duncan I came in contact with the mighty pulse of religious life in the Free Church of Scotland, and made the acquaintance of many prominent men who were at the head of this active and finely organized denomination. . . . Never to be forgotten are the days I spent at the sessions of the General Assembly, in May, 1864. The hall, seating five thousand, filled to the utmost corner! The people, who had secured their cards of admission weeks before! And the tension and enthusiasm with which this great audience followed the debates, often into the small hours of the night! There the eyes of the Wuerttemberg candidate were opened to the vitality, the power, the activity of a Church of the people, independent of the government, and entirely left to itself. That was something new to me, something that I could never have learned at any German University. *That* was a preparation for America!

"My position as tutor, though most delightful, could not give me lasting satisfaction. My vocation, as I felt more and more decidedly, was the pulpit. . . . I wrote to my most intimate friend at home, Pastor Karl Hole, how I was longing to preach the Gospel, and

how I was ready, if God should call me, to go to Africa or China to take up my life-work.* Twenty-four hours after I had sent this declaration off, came a letter from Philadelphia asking if I were willing to accept a position as preacher in that city. The letter was from a member of the Council of old Zion's congregation, a cousin of mine, who had seen me last as a pupil of thirteen years in the Latin school, and who did not know where to find me or even if I were still living. He had sent it to my mother, who forwarded it to Edinburgh with the jesting remark: 'Something to laugh at! *You* and America!' But to me it was no laughing matter. It pierced my heart as the divine answer to my letter to my friend written a few days before, as if He had taken me at my word. If I were sincere in my readiness to go anywhere to preach the Gospel, I could only answer, 'Yes.' At once I sat down and wrote to Dr. Mann: 'I am coming.'"

To his mother it was no longer something to laugh at; she wrote, June 19th: "Your decision surprised me very, very much, though on the other hand, I was glad to have the suspense over. . . . I could only say to the Lord, 'Yes, I shall certainly be able to thank Thee for it all, later. But just this little while let me weep before Thee.'" Concerning his papers from Wuerttemberg she adds: "The very day that the last letter was sent off came the testimonials, especially one from

*Hole's reply to this letter was, in part, as follows: I believe it is not yet time for you to enter the service of the Church. Your heart's desire for new worlds must first be satisfied, and I do not consider it too quixotic a thought, on the contrary I would counsel you, to make an extended tour. But I would advise America, rather than China or Australia. That would fit exactly into your career, to steam off for America! . . . . In American surroundings you can best acquire firmness of character, and make the most of your qualities. Later, enriched in experience and ideas, you can return to Wuerttemberg.

your good old Pastor Arnold in Bittenfeld. . . He mentions discourse, catechization, visits to the sick, all excellent; calls you good-natured, cultivated, pleasant, suited to a large city, etc., etc. Dekan Buehrer of Waiblingen witnessed this, and added his certificate of ordination on the same paper. . . . Ernst says, 'I do not believe that Adolph will stay any too long in America. He is too good a "Schwabe." I believe too that his somewhat sentimental turn will not be permanently satisfied with American conditions which are certainly the very opposite.' "

The City of Washington was an old ship, and, even for that time, very slow, making the trip in sixteen days. "But that did not disturb me specially. I had no idea with what longing, what impatience even, I was expected in Philadelphia. The novelty of the voyage, the world in miniature in which one finds himself on such a ship, all made the time seem very short to me." On the 27th of July the pilot was taken on board, with newspapers only eight days old, which were eagerly seized, for it was war-time! The news was not very favorable to the North. The confederates were reported to have destroyed the outer fortifications of Washington, and laid half of Baltimore in ruins! It was not really as bad as that, but the Southern troops had entered Pennsylvania, and burned Chambersburg. "And gold was 293! The American business men on board were nearly beside themselves. I was naive enough to ask what that really meant, and learned that for a Dollar in gold one must pay two Dollars and ninety-three cents in currency. And to this was added the startling information that when I had been six months in the country I would be liable to conscription, and would have my choice either to give my fresh young life to Uncle Sam as food for powder, or to buy a substitute for three hundred Dollars! A pleasant prospect for one who had set out so valiantly

to preach the Gospel of Peace in this western land!"

When they docked next day, a friendly fellow-passenger took charge of him as far as Third and Walnut Street, whence he found his way alone to his destination, a modest little book-store near Buttonwood. "There, before his shop, sat a comfortable looking Swabian smoking his evening pipe. 'Is this Cousin Wilhelm?' I asked. 'Are you Adolph? Thank God! At last! At last! Welcome to Philadelphia!' "

His first interview with Dr. Mann next morning was very satisfactory to both. In Dr. Mann's Diary is the entry, July 30, 1864: Yesterday I saw Pastor Spaeth for the first time. . . . He is now twenty-five years old. The first impression is very favorable; a real Swabian, good-natured, frank, well educated, with requisite knowledge of the world, and no self-conceit. "From the first we felt like old acquaintances. We found points of contact everywhere. Dr. Mann was a Swabian like myself, and his course of theological training in Wuerttemberg had been essentially the same as mine. His brother Rudolph, Pastor in Hedelfinger, was a compromotionalist of my father. . . Never shall I forget, how, in the first quarter of an hour, he read the horoscope of my American future. In my unsophisticated way I had confided to him that I had come to serve the congregation for a year or two if they wanted me, and thus to widen my own theological and pastoral horizon, but that I had no idea of giving up my Swabian home for the sake of remaining in America. 'What!' he cried, 'Go back? Do not dream of such a thing! Anyone called by God to this land as you have been, does not go back. He stays here, and has found his field of labor here. Basta!' I wondered then how he could be so sure of that, but looking back on this scene in later years have often thought, he was right after all!"

Events followed rapidly. On the next Sunday even-

ing Pastor Spaeth preached in St. Michael's, before an audience composed almost entirely of the Church Council, from the text II Cor. 12: 9, My grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Everything was very primitive, no vestry room, no place to put on a gown, no liturgy. On the following Tuesday he was nominated by the Council as assistant pastor, and eight weeks later, September 27th, was unanimously elected as regular pastor of St. Michael's and Zion's congregation. On the 16th of October he was installed by Rev. J. T. Vogelbach, and preached his first sermon as pastor from the text John 21: 15-17. The testing of an Apostle of Jesus Christ; 1. the examination question; 2. the answer; 3. the installation. On the 23d of May, 1910, he preached at the ordination service in old St. John's, in great weakness and self-distrust, taking the same theme for his sermon. One who heard him said, "It was very sad, but very, very lovely!" He felt that he would probably never preach again, and said to his wife: "If this should be my last sermon, tell the Church as a message from me, that I could find no better words for these young men than those that I took for myself nearly fifty years ago."

Dr. Mann had said to him as he put on the gown: "You are standing at one of the culminating points of your life!" "I felt the truth of these words weighing heavily enough on my young heart. . . . Three years before, in leaving the University of Tuebingen I had competed for the academic prize, in a sermon for which this text was given to me: 'To the angel of the church in Philadelphia write . . . behold I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it . .' and now I stood in the Philadelphia of this western world, as duly appointed pastor of the old Mother-congregation, as her divinely commissioned ambassador,

with the fervent prayer out of a deeply agitated heart, that He who had opened the door so wide to me would bless my going in, and would make of me a faithful messenger of the blessed Gospel in this new world." The uncertainty in regard to his vocation was at an end. In his Diary he writes, October 16th: Lord give me richly of Thy grace and power, that Thou mayest be all in all to me, at every step in my difficult calling, a calling so full of anxiety, but which I would not for worlds now exchange for any other.

When Pastor Spaeth arrived in America the country was in the throes of the Civil War. So far he had not taken the slightest interest in this "butchery" as he rather contemptuously called it. In Scotland, while he was drawing accurate maps to show his pupils the progress of the Schleswig-Holstein struggle in the Spring of 1864, Lord Lorne often expressed his wonder that Herr Spaeth, who otherwise took the liveliest interest in all military matters, did not care to study with him the movements of the American war, as detailed in the American newspapers which he read regularly. "Like so many Europeans I undervalued the significance and extent of the conflict, in which, as I saw it, there was nothing but the bitter, passionate dissension of political parties. I shall never forget the lesson I received when Dr. Mann took me to call on Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, at that time President of the Pennsylvania Synod, and the conversation turned on the state of the country. Without the least embarrassment I expressed my doubt whether the Union would remain unbroken. As we left the house Dr. Mann said, with a gravity that made the deepest impression on me: 'You must not say anything like that to a loyal American! For him it is an article of faith that this union of free states will continue unbroken, and will come out victorious in the war. It is to be hoped that this will soon become your conviction

also.' And, indeed, so it happened soon enough. The war and the excitement of the presidential election, which, in November, 1864, called Lincoln for the second time to the White House, made of me within a few months, a positive and enthusiastic American."

In the plain German restaurant where he dined he was thrown with young men and officers who had taken part in many important battles, and the conversation turned naturally on their experiences. It soon became his daily habit to stroll down to the bulletin boards in Chestnut Street in order to learn the latest war news. At York Avenue and 5th Street was a sort of guard-house, with a detachment of U. S. troops. Here he often fell in with groups of Southern prisoners awaiting transportation to Fort Mifflin or some other point. The city was filled with military hospitals, and after every battle in the East the hospitals nearest the field were hastily evacuated, and patients who could be moved were sent North to make room for the freshly wounded. In such emergencies the volunteer fire companies did yeoman's service. Besides its ordinary apparatus each company kept an ambulance, and when a certain signal was rung, every man reported for duty in transporting the wounded soldiers from ship or train to the waiting hospitals. "How many a crippled German from the Union army did I seek out in those months, to bring him a word of comfort from the Gospel! How hard these visits often were to the young beginner in the pastoral care of souls! How his heart shrank before the sight of all the distress and misery which he was forced to witness! I remember how one dear old widow showed me the last letter of her son, mortally wounded at Gettysburg. On a wretched scrap of paper, with trembling hand the words were written: 'My right leg is gone, but the victory is ours! Thank God!' And when the mother asked me: 'Shall I have his body

taken up, and brought to our cemetery in Philadelphia?' I answered decidedly: 'No! Leave him there, among the comrades with whom he fought, on the field of victory where he shed his blood for his country, at the foot of the monument which Lincoln dedicated with his immortal words!' "

From August, 1864, to April, 1865, he followed the course of events with increasing interest; Petersburg, Sheridan's ride, Thomas at Nashville, Sherman's march to the sea; slowly but steadily the last crisis was approaching. On the 4th of April came the news of the taking of Richmond. Pastor Spaeth tells graphically in the Erinnerungen, how his confirmation instruction was interrupted by the wild ringing of all the bells in the neighborhood, and a curious rumbling and roaring of the crowds in the streets, now and again breaking into loud shouts of triumph. He hurried in the greatest excitement to his friend, Dr. Koch. "One must pour out one's heart to somebody! We went down Chestnut Street together, *i. e.,* we allowed ourselves to be pushed and carried from square to square, by the surging tide of humanity. Never in my life have I seen such an elemental outburst of national joy, such transports of victory. Every few steps we were blocked by a group who thronged about an orator, with the boisterous demand: 'Speech! Speech!' How many speeches we heard that afternoon I could not say. But they were all alike; alike short, alike good: 'Friends! Fellow citizens! Richmond is ours! The war is over! Thank God!' And then the speaker would embrace his nearest neighbor, and staid, gray-haired men would give each other a hearty kiss, laughing and crying like children."

Lincoln's assassination on Good Friday, followed close on this unrestrained joy of conquest. On Saturday afternoon Pastor Spaeth was to have the preparatory service for the Easter communion. "In the frightful

excitement there was no idea of collected thought or preparation of an address, so that was really my first *ex tempore* sermon, though even without preparation earnest words of repentance and humility were not hard to find in that hour. . . . Much more difficult was the Easter sermon which I was to preach next day in Zion's. Whence should come Easter joy, and edification for the nine hundred * communicants who were to approach the table of the Lord, when every heart was oppressed by the same fearful burden? The question of the sorrowing women in the Easter Gospel gave, of course, a natural starting point for the introduction. . . . 'Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?—For it was very great.' Yes, very great is the stone of sorrow that has rolled in upon our people with the awful news, which, in a day, has turned our whole broad land into a house of mourning. It has fallen upon us all the more heavily, because the Scripture here may almost be transposed in its application to our nation and land: 'We believed it *was* rolled away,' the heavy stone of calamity and sorrow, which, for four years, has defied every attempt to remove it. We thought joyfully, now it is nearly off; one last powerful effort, and it would have been gone! And behold, when we lift our eyes, the stone lies there still! It has slipped back and has struck down the Foremost One, who in faithful, conscientious zeal had labored unremittingly to raise it. The stone lies there still, heavy as ever, threatening as ever! It is not rolled away!

"We had expected, thinking of our country, of the suffering and conflict through which she has passed, of the sacrifices she has made, to celebrate a joyful Easter, such an Easter as never before was given to any nation;

* 600 had already communed on Good Friday.

an emancipation, a resurrection and redemption, a dispersing of the darkness of the tomb, a breaking of ignominious fetters, a rejuvination and re-animation of the whole powerful body. . . . And as Jerusalem on the first day of Holy Week resounded with Hosanna and Hallelujah, so we too entered upon this earnest, never-to-be-forgotten week with victor's triumph on our lips, victor's joy in our hearts, exultant cries of victory on our streets, banners of victory floating from our houses. In public and in private, praise and thanksgiving from hearts glowing with devotion, went up to the Lord of Sabbaoth for the victory which He had given. How bright and clear, how radiant lay the future before our eyes! How happy we were to breathe freely once more! How did the sunny blue heaven laugh above a great, glad nation, in its intoxication of victory!—And now! One terrible stroke, a bolt from a clear sky, which curdles the blood in every vein for horror, and fills the eyes of strong men with tears. Far and wide, through the exulting land, from city to city, from village to village, over mountain and valley, hovers the Angel of Death with his black shadow, extinguishes the bonfires, furls the banners, and pours bitter wormwood into the cup of rejoicing! . . . . An awful stillness broods over our streets; like orphaned children, sad and with agitated faces, our people go their way. As one house of mourning, the dwellings of the living are draped with the hue of death, and from every tower falls the dismal, muffled tolling of brazen-throated bells."

On Wednesday, April 19th, a memorial service to the murdered President was appointed in Zion's, and much as the younger pastor felt that Dr. Mann should take such a service, the latter insisted on the invariable rule that he who had filled the pulpit on Sunday morning must also take any service held in the following week. "All my begging and pleading did not help. I had to

do it. I hastily procured a volume of Lincoln's speeches, made on specially important occasions. On Wednesday the Memorial Service was held according to program, and before an audience of nearly three thousand souls, I bore witness gladly, and with enthusiasm, to what this great man had been to his country and nation. Today, while I look upon many fiery outbursts of my youthful zeal with a riper and more sober judgment, of that address I can say with sincere pleasure: out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." It is interesting to recall that more than twenty years later, at the Memorial to Kaiser Wilhelm, one of the speakers of the evening was thus introduced by the President of the German Society: I remember well the hour when the dread news of the sudden death of the noble President Abraham Lincoln flashed through our country. It was a German who had landed on our shores not long before, whose address at the Memorial Service held then, showed such profound understanding of our grievous loss. I take pleasure in introducing to you as the German orator for our Memorial Service today, the same man, Pastor Adolph Spaeth.

The Diary records that when, on Saturday, April 22d, the body of the martyred President was brought to Philadelphia to lie in state in Independence Hall, Pastor Spaeth joined the escort of citizens, but after marching nearly four hours, left the procession at eight o'clock, just as his column wheeled into position behind the hearse.

"Soon after my arrival in Philadelphia, I became a member of the German Society, deeming this a matter of course for a German pastor in the City of Brotherly Love. My colleague, Dr. Mann, had held a prominent position there for years, especially as Chairman of the Library Committee. The German Society in Philadelphia is one of the oldest, if not the oldest association of

its kind in our land, two years older than the well known 'German Friendly Society' of Charleston, S. C. It was founded in 1764 in the schoolhouse of the mother-congregation, where its meetings were held for nearly fifty years, and its first members were almost exclusively members of St. Michael's and Zion's." In 1802, Peter Muhlenberg was President, and Charles James Krauth, grandfather of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, was Secretary of the Society. Every German Christian can heartily subscribe to its beautiful motto: "Religione, Industria, Fortitudine Germana Proles florebit;" through Piety, Industry, and Courage will the German Race prosper. But in the course of a century the Society had shifted its position. English had largely driven out German in the action and Minutes, until the influx of exiles in 1848 restored the mother-tongue. But the Christian tone which had characterized the Society at first, was no longer prominent. "In the fall of 1864, when the hundredth anniversary was celebrated, the chief speaker translated 'Religione' as 'freedom of conscience,' 'religious liberty,' just the opposite of what the fathers and founders had understood by that word. This public perversion of the facts shocked me deeply, and, in the first ebullition of my wrath, I intended to protest energetically and openly, against such a translation. But when I talked it over with Dr. Mann he dissuaded me, being convinced that nothing could come of it owing to the prevalence of antagonism to the Church among our German dailies; further, I had no guarantee that my voice would gain any kind of impartial audience. For that a pastor would, in these circles secure a hearing, or that he would be chosen as speaker on any festival occasion, was at that time something simply beyond imagination. In the course of years our Philadelphia German press has gradually changed its tone toward churchly interests." The Charter of the

German Society made it one of its duties to found schools and to encourage education, and in the first fifty years of its existence the expenditure for such purposes was almost as great as for charity. At that time most of this sum was used for assisting young men who attended the University with a view to studying theology. From the beginning of the nineteenth century this activity declined more and more, and with the introduction of the Public School system ceased entirely. The Centennial of the Society was the occasion for an attempt to found a German High School, which came to nothing. Instead of this plan Mr. E. Schaefer proposed an evening school, for the free instruction of German immigrants in the English language. The idea was well received and successfully carried out. As one means of providing the necessary funds a course of lectures was arranged during the following winter. Pastor Spaeth lectured January 20, 1868, on the Waldenses and their Church. (Condensed from Report of the Germany Society for 1867.)

When Pastor Spaeth left Edinburgh it was his plan to return in the spring or summer of 1865 to claim his bride, Dr. Duncan of course performing the marriage ceremony. But in a congregation so recently torn by strong party feeling, where the wounds had now begun to heal, and a new era of peace and brotherly love was dawning, it would have been most inopportune for the young pastor to leave his post even for a few weeks. A second plan gradually took shape, and Miss Duncan found herself obliged to give up her very natural preference for a home wedding, to follow the clear path of duty which took her across the sea alone. On the 31st of December, 1864, she wrote in her Diary: "Lord help me to begin the New Year in Thy Name. O go with me! Prepare *me* for what Thou hast prepared *for* me." On the 22d of April, 1865, she left Liverpool,

landing, after a delightful voyage, on the 2d of May. In Philadelphia she was the guest for a few days, of Dr. Koch's family, and in his house on the 8th of May, the wedding took place, Dr. Mann officiating. After a short journey including Niagara, "too grand, too awful for description," and the Hudson, "sweet and pretty," the young couple took possession of their own home in Philadelphia, "a flat, monotonous city. . . . and yet, for the kind of city . . . fine." *

In August, 1865, the little household was augmented by the arrival of Pastor Spaeth's sister Emma, later Mrs. Philip Pfatteicher, and for six years she remained in the parsonage, a blessing to its inmates, and a most active participant in the work of the congregations. Mrs. Spaeth's position on the "woman question" of that day was very decided. She thought that women should have an opportunity to continue their studies longer, and, where possible, enjoy two or three years in college. But she held strictly to her Bible as the rule on this whole subject, and therefore she could not agree with Miss Anna Dickinson whom she heard lecture, except on the broad general principle that "women needed something to do." Nor could she go quite as far in the other direction as so many Germans do, who hold to the "three K's" † as woman's sole duty. She writes: "Her *first* duty I believe does lie in the care of her household. But for those who have no household?" "Well, I don't think that woman as a whole has much to do with politics." (The slogan, Votes for Women, was beginning to be heard in the land.) "My difficulty lies in knowing where to stop consistently when I begin. What are the necessary, indispensable ingredients of womanliness, which we would never like women to lose?" "No

* In Memoriam. Maria Dorothea Duncan Spaeth, 1879.

† Kirche, Kinder, Kueche. Church, Children, Cooking.

woman I think can become unwomanly through learning provided her petticoats are long enough to cover the blue stockings."

In her desire to help the young girls of the congregation to "do something" she was ably seconded by the zeal and experience of her husband's sister, and a few weeks after the arrival of the latter a little society was formed, whose object was the support of an orphan in our Home. At the same time she was making strenuous efforts to become familiar with the doctrines and usages of the Lutheran Church, different in so many respects from those to which she was accustomed. Gradually the Church Year, especially Christmas and Easter became dear to her, and we find her even "plodding through the Symbolical Books . . . anxious to become acquainted with them." (Memoir.)

Reaching America in July, it was fully ten months before Pastor Spaeth could be received into the Ministerium. This important event is thus described in the Erinnerungen. "On June 11, 1865, I journeyed to Easton to the 117th meeting of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. . . On my arrival Dr. Mann met me and surprised me with the news that I was already a member of the Ministerium. He was at that time Chairman of the Examining Committee of Synod, and had given such a favorable account of me and of my work in Zion's that, without having appeared before the Committee in person, I was unanimously recommended, and had been received into the Ministerium that morning, together with Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, Dr. J. A. Seiss, Dr. H. Lewis Baugher, Rev. S. Laird and Rev. Jacob Fry. In this first meeting I took a modest share in the synodical work, being appointed to deliver the German address on the standing theme of Education, and chose as my text Peter's words: What shall we have therefore? . . . The first Committee

on which I served in Synod, curiously enough, was entrusted with a matter in which, later on, I was to find much to do, namely, the Diaconate!" Dr. Fry writes in 1910: "Possibly more interest was manifested in Dr. Spaeth than in any of the other new members. So great was the wish to hear him that he was asked to speak at the Educational Anniversary held in the evening of the first day's session. His handsome face, graceful movements, musical voice, and distinct utterance won the high regard of all who heard him. That regard he never lost. As he ripened in years his influence increased, and he was soon recognized as a leader."

"My entrance into the Synod came at a momentous period in the development of our Lutheran Church in this Western land. The struggle, lasting many years, for a truly Lutheran character and confession in the General Synod, to which, at that time, the Pennsylvania Synod still belonged, had reached its crisis. It was a time of deepest agitation and disturbance of mind. The demand was urgent for a separation and decision between a sincere, consistent Lutheranism, faithful to the Confessions, and a more or less washed-out Unionism, which so far had dominated the General Synod.

"There was a certain parallel between this struggle in the Church and the great national struggle then going on, for Union and Constitution . . and as the conflict between North and South so quickly made a patriotic American out of me, so this conflict in the Church, into whose tumult I was thrown, led me, more than my theological training in Wuerttemberg had ever done, to a true estimate of the Lutheran Confessions, and to a personal acceptance of them, if I would be faithful to my conviction. . . . I thank God that He brought me to the New World and to my field of labor here just at this critical period. As the great principles involved came to be more sharply defined and

more clearly recognized, and forced a decision, I was often reminded of the words of Ulrich v. Hutten, who, in the Reformation era to which he belonged, exclaimed in rapture: 'O glorious Century! It is a delight to live in thee!'"

In the end of July, 1864, the decision had been reached, at a special meeting of Synod in Allentown, to found the new Seminary in Philadelphia, and the first Faculty had been chosen. The Seminary opened October 3d, with eleven students; on the 4th the Faculty was solemnly installed in St. John's church. Dr. Krauth made the address which, in the name of the Faculty laid down the principles according to which instruction was to be given, and the old faith of Luther was to be confessed and maintained in the institution. The translation of this address for the *Luth. Zeitschrift* was the first literary service which Pastor Spaeth undertook for the Church at large, and especially for the Seminary. Soon after its publication he writes: Dr. Krauth seems satisfied with my translation of his Address,—but Dr. Mann not at all! (Diary.)

Meanwhile the work in Zion's had gone more and more smoothly: the breach between the old pastor and a part of the congregation had been healed, and a firm friendship between him and Pastor Spaeth was cemented for life. When Dr. Mann was appointed Professor of Hebrew in the Seminary in the fall of 1864, "he formed a sort of Hebrew club with his newly arrived colleague in the pastorate, and in those short weeks preceding the opening of the Seminary a good deal of the Prophet Isaiah was read by the two friends." * As the city developed and the congregation became more and more

* Memorial of William Julius Mann, D.D., LL.D., (A. S.) reprinted for the Ev. Luth. Min. of Penna., from the *Lutheran Church Review*, January, 1893.

scattered, it had long been felt that three churches,* lying very near together, were not enough for the spiritual needs of the great mass of Germans in Philadelphia. By founding parish schools in the outlying districts an attempt had been made to reach the children, and nearly a thousand had been gathered under the care of nine teachers, most valuable assistants to the pastors in their herculean task. The pastoral visiting, which included West Philadelphia, Port Richmond and Southwark, often necessitated a day's journey, mostly on foot. On Sunday, a favorite opportunity for baptisms at home, no street cars ran, and though a carriage was always sent to bring the minister to a funeral, this simple expedient never entered the heads of families in which a baptism was appointed. So, under the scorching blaze of a summer's sun, or over glassy ice, or through heavy snowdrifts in winter, the pastor tramped for miles and miles, and by evening was almost too exhausted to stand up in his pulpit.† Of course the good people who made these demands had no idea of the physical strain involved. No wonder that in St. Johannis, sustained neither by ancient law nor popular custom, Sunday baptisms, except in the church, were abolished.

In addition to the care of all the churches Pastor Spaeth was very soon called upon for literary work to

* St. James, (Jacobus) was an independent congregation from the first.

† "Sermon in the crowded St. Paul's church. Then two baptisms and two funerals, so that I scarcely found time to eat."—"Sermon in St. Paul's, two funerals in Southwark, evening sermon in St. Michael's."—"From 4 a. m. on, frightful snow-storm. Church very empty. After dinner a funeral. Awning over the grave, snow knee-deep. Got home all right, but how about St. Michael's this evening?"—"My Diary shows, if nothing else does, that I am gradually becoming dry and prosy,—a real Philister before my time."

which he felt himself unequal, but which was forced upon him. Before he had been two months in the country Dr. Schaff asked him to contribute to his homiletical Journal.* "Dare I do that?" he questions; "is not the bare thought of doing such a thing presumptuous and foolhardy on my part?" But his first sermon appeared in January, 1865, nevertheless, and others followed. Later on, the *Ev. Kirchenzeitung,* the S. S. Lehrer † and other work on the *Zeitschrift* "take entirely too much time!" "The wretched stuff for the *Zeitschrift,* for which, the longer I keep at it the less fitted I feel, interferes even with my preparation for the pulpit." (Diary.) Such work, combined with the overwhelming task of parish visiting, made serious inroads on the regular study hours needed not only for his sermons, but also for his own culture and mental growth. He had fallen into somewhat desultory habits of reading in Scotland, and was often in despair over the difficulty he found in concentration and perseverance. He tried early rising in order to gain time for study, but "breakfast and the newspaper took so long!" He planned out his work the night before, and perhaps a tiresome visitor would rob him of the best morning hours. His reading during these years was largely religious biography, sermons and biblical notes. He came to the conclusion that the "one thing most necessary for me, for which, with the help of God I will earnestly strive, is knowledge of the Bible, its language, its ideas, its way of looking at things; and to draw this knowledge

*The *Evangelische Zeugnisse,* founded by Dr. Schaff in 1863 and published monthly by Ig. Kohler. It existed for three years, and as Dr. Schaff was absent in Europe most of this time, Dr. Mann edited it for his friend, though with no great personal interest in it.

† During the year 1868 this was a department of the *Zeitschrift,* appearing weekly, and was conducted entirely by Pastor Spaeth.

at the fountain-head, before it passes through the conduit of commentaries, sermons and dissertations is undoubtedly best,—from time to time at least, absolutely necessary." Again, he deplores his dependence on "leading strings" though Stier and Lange are certainly edifying. But, "more Bible knowledge, more of God's Word, not only in memory (where I have little enough), but in my heart's blood, and thence pulsing through every vein in true vitality and power, that is now my greatest need." (Diary.)

The time consumed by parish visiting was not so discouraging, as his feeling that he was not doing the good that he would like to do, that might be done and ought to be done by a pastor among his people. He was timid and sensitive, inexperienced and easily discomfitted. What should he say to parents at the coffin of a daughter, when the chief burden of their lamentation was the good wages she had been earning? How should he tell an over-pious woman that she was a hypocrite, and that she knew it? How should he deal with a clerical brother who had given the communion to a woman whom Pastor Spaeth was still testing as to her fitness for it,—"an opium-draught to a dying soul?" He finds a sick man weak and listless, a condition common enough, but he reproaches himself. "Do I say the right thing? I seem to myself so unpractical and stupid beside a sick-bed!" Only when he began to visit the members of his confirmation class and was received, almost without exception, with hearty kindness and interest, he felt the value of a closer personal relation between pastor and people. Where there was simply poverty to deal with he had no trouble. He spared no pains in interesting others also in such cases, and took an innocent pride after his marriage, in offering to "send his ladies" to see what was needed. In one house the drunken husband, the unbaptized children,

the sticky little fingers, the dirt and disorder everywhere were calmly accounted for by the fact that the German man had married an American woman! Pastor Spaeth took courage to speak to her and, to his amazement, found it easier to admonish in English than in German!

In contrast to these sordid experiences the Erinnerungen contain a "family history" so prettily told, so unusual in its details, so complete as a story, that it may well find a place here. "It was late in the evening of an October day in the year 1865. My wife and sister had just said good-night and gone up-stairs, when the bell was violently rung. Opening the door I found two men, who wished to speak to me about something very important. I invited them into the parlor to hear what they had to say. One of them was a Scotchman, Captain Duncan, a burly sea-bear, who at once opened the conversation and, in an uncouth, excited way, laid the matter before me. I was to come immediately to a tavern at South Street Wharf, to marry a young couple there. The ceremony must be performed that evening without delay. The bride had come from South America to Philadelphia in order to be married here to a German Captain. He himself, an old friend of her father, had given his word of honor that everything should be done properly according to the usage of the Church. But he was obliged to leave with his ship very early next morning, and under no circumstances must he fail to witness the marriage. They had called in an Episcopal clergyman in the neighborhood, who had begun the service. But when he came to question the bride the discovery was made that she understood no English, only German and Spanish. He broke off the ceremony and insisted that a German minister must be found. So they came to me. The whole thing sounded very much like an adventure. The designated locality was rather notorious; the 'inn' where this wed-

ding was to take place was a common sailors' tavern; the hour near midnight! I confess I had no great desire to go with these perfect strangers at such a time.

"In order to gain a moment for quiet thought I went up to my study to fetch my Service Book. There, on the upper stairs, sat my wife and sister, and had heard it all. They were very much disturbed and begged me to send the men away, and not take so great a risk. Singular as the whole story was, however, the rough, direct way in which the Scotch Captain stated the case had made an impression of veracity. I had an idea. I reminded my visitors of the great distance, the late hour, the unpleasant neighborhood into which they wished me to accompany them, and suggested that it was only reasonable that they should order a carriage to take me down and bring me back. In this case I was willing to go and perform the marriage. They agreed at once, and within a quarter of an hour a carriage rattled into the lonely, quiet street, and I was obliged to go. . . . At last we stopped before a house, where, from the lower rooms, we were greeted by the sound of fiddle and trumpet, and the wild shouting of dancing sailors. In the 'Office' sat the Episcopal clergyman whose ministrations had been so unexpectedly interrupted. From him I learned, in a few words, that everything was exactly as my Captain Duncan had stated. . . . We went up-stairs, and there, in a perfectly decent 'parlor,' I found the little wedding company assembled around the handsomest, stateliest couple that I had ever seen. The bridegroom was a blond, German giant, the image of 'unser Fritz,' the bride a southern beauty, with dark complexion and black hair, exactly the opposite to the man, and yet the loveliest contrast that one could imagine. I asked the necessary questions, and married the happy couple. It was nearly one o'clock when I returned from my strange

ride, and quieted the apprehensions of my family.

"About two years later a boy entered my sacristy with a greeting from Captain H., and I should please come out to Port Richmond and christen his little son. 'I do not know any Captain H.,' said I. 'Who is the man?' 'Oh yes,' answered the boy, 'You know him. You married him several years ago, one night, at South Street Wharf!' *'That* is who it is!' I cried, surprised and pleased. 'Yes, I have certainly not forgotten *him.* I will come and baptize the baby.' The next afternoon I went. Far up in the northeastern part of the city, near the Delaware, stood a cosy little house in a tiny little garden, a real idyl in the noisy, restless metropolis, and there I found my young couple again, as happy parents. I baptized their handsome boy, and spent the greater part of the afternoon with them, in pleasant conversation over our coffee.

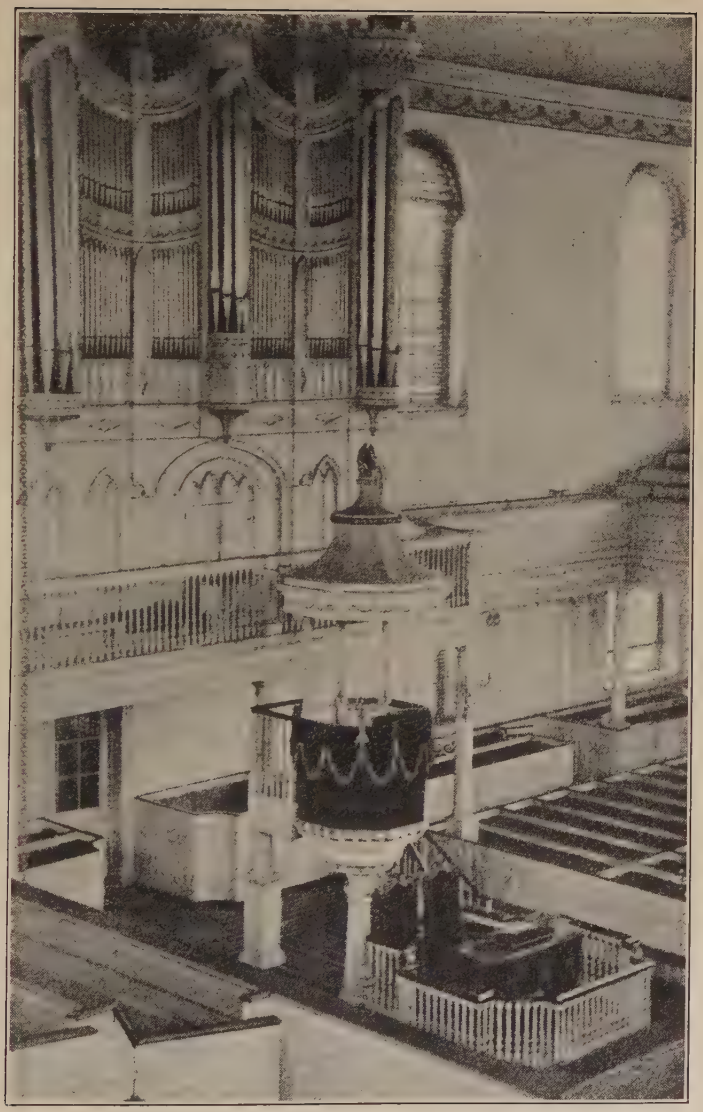
"Again two years flew by, and one morning there was a knock at the door of my sacristy in St. Johannis church. A woman entered, heavily veiled in black, and with a baby on her arm. It was the young wife of Captain H. Weeping she told me that her husband had died of yellow fever in Cuba, and that she intended now to return with her children to her father in South America. I baptized the second little son at the font of St. Johannis, and then we parted for this world. The eldest boy must be forty years old now. I wonder if he follows his father's calling on the sea? Or whether he is still living? Who knows! But I hope their names are all written in heaven, as they are in the church records of our congregation!"

For the Centennial celebration, May 13, 1866, Dr. Mann prepared a very valuable history of Zion's, to which was appended a sketch by Pastor Spaeth, of what lay before the congregation in the near future. He emphasized the duty of the mother congregation

to her scattered members, to found schools and Sunday schools for the little ones, and so to draw the parents through the children; to keep an eye on the young people after confirmation, to provide not only for their spiritual, but also for their social needs; and, when they felt impelled to cut loose from the German church, to see that they went into our English congregations instead of being lost to the Lutheran Church altogether. He pleaded also for a better understanding between English and German Lutheran congregations, that each might learn from the other and that "by laboring hand in hand, the work of both should prosper. That would prevent many a split, and especially would it preserve to our Lutheran Church much of the force and endowment of the German character and German culture, though in an English dress." *

The chief problem of Zion's during the three years of Mr. Spaeth's pastorate, to the solution of which he bent all his energies, was the peaceable division of the overgrown congregation into four independent churches. The first principle of concentration had prevailed as late as 1840, when St. Paul's was founded, not as a separate congregation but merely as a third school and preaching-station. Only in 1856, through Dr. Mann's influence, a new departure was made in building St. James' for a congregation controlling its own affairs, and having its own pastor. There was a widespread and deeply rooted conviction in the congregation that something must be done, and desirable building lots had already been secured in Southwark and at 15th and Ogden Streets. These two districts brought all their influence to bear on the Vestry of Zion's, Southwark furnishing the president of the corporation, Mr. Boehm, and the Northwest its secretary, Mr. F. C. Schmidt.

* Festgruss zum Zions-Jubilaeum. Der ganzen Gemeinde gewidmet von ihren Pastoren W. J. Mann und A. Spaeth, 1866.



Pulpit in Old Zion's

Dr. Mann was in favor of the proposed changes, but "he who goes slowly, goes surely," and he was in dread of a too rapid and radical action, which would frustrate the object of which, in general, he approved. For his younger colleague, however, the restraints of reverence for tradition, which held back one more closely connected with the growth of the congregation than himself, did not exist. . . . "With the enthusiasm of youth I threw myself into the reform movement and urged it on wherever opportunity offered to put in a word for it." A house had been rented at 13th and Coates Street (Fairmount Ave.) for school purposes, and here regular meetings were held by those interested in the proposed church of the Northwest. Twice in the fall of 1864 Pastor Spaeth attended and addressed these meetings, and in December steps were taken to bring the whole matter before Zion's congregation for final decision. For this congregational meeting in January, 1865, Pastor Spaeth paved the way by circulating a printed statement, giving a plan by which the division could be made. He was known only to the President of the Vestry and to his cousin, Wilhelm Widmaier, as the author of this plan, which contemplated the erection of four new churches with means to be furnished by selling the very valuable property still used as a graveyard, bounded by Race and Vine, Franklin and Eighth Streets. The new congregations, Emmanuel and St. Johannis, were to receive $40,000 each, and the building lots already owned by Zion's in the two districts. This plan was adopted essentially, and finally carried out, after some delay in getting the consent of the Legislature to the sale of the ground. The vote in the congregation had stood 254 for, and 115 against the sale. The opposing minority brought so much influence to bear in Harrisburg, that the first decision of the Legislature rejected the petition of the

congregation. In his farewell sermon in Zion's, November 16, 1884, Dr. Mann spoke of this division as "really the most significant event in the nearly 150 years" of Zion's history.

But delay was not what St. Johannis wanted. Steps were taken at once to secure subscriptions to the building fund, until nearly $20,000 was collected. June 19, 1865, they asked permission of Zion's Vestry to advance the money and to begin building on the lot designed for them. "There was some amusement in Zion's over this proposition, which most people did not take very seriously, for such energy, such boldness in going ahead, was unheard of, in the history of the congregation." The request was granted, however, without much debate, and three months later, September 18th, in a pouring rain, the cornerstone was laid. April 22, 1866, the lecture room and school rooms were consecrated, and at once occupied by the Sunday school and parish school which had so far been maintained in the Northwest by Zion's. At this consecration service the addresses were made by Dr. G. F. Krotel in English, and Pastor Spaeth in German.* In June of the same year Pastor Spaeth was approached as to his willingness to accept a call which the new congregation intended to give him. "In the evening of the 27th of June, 1866, Mr. Karl Klenk and Mr. Fr. C. Schmidt came to me to beg me to accept a call about to be extended to me by the new St. Johannis congregation, to become their pastor. This was the most important decision I had been called upon to make since I determined to come to Philadelphia from Scotland. It was not easy for me to decide. The reasons for and against this proposal were anxiously weighed. . . . The new field drew me, with the hope that I could here live and work with my people

* Geschichte der Ev. Luth. St Johannis Gemeinde, zum fuenfundzwanzigjaehrigen Jubilaeum der Kircheinweihung. 1893.

in unrestrained freedom. It would be far easier for Zion's to find a successor for me, than for a new mission congregation to secure their first pastor. . . . I would get away from the party spirit of the old congregation, which sometimes made me very uncomfortable. I would give up a field of labor, whose demands I felt myself entirely incompetent to satisfy, and in exchange would have a far wider field, to which, gradually and quite unconsciously, my sympathies had been more and more drawn. That there were some serious objections, on the other hand, I did not attempt to ignore." Though he could not yet pledge himself, he worked during the summer with a Committee in the Northwest on the Constitution for the proposed St. Johannis congregation, which was unanimously adopted, September 18th, and this step greatly influenced his decision. On the 12th of February, his wife's birthday, the formal call was received, and after much thought and consultation with his pastoral brethren, was accepted.

To many persons in Zion's this decision of their younger pastor was not only unexpected but incomprehensible, just when everything was in such fine running order; but in sending his resignation to the Vestry he could truthfully say: "I entered the congregation with the fixed intention of working for its division, so that every portion of the city might have its own administration and its own pastor, being convinced that many dangerous germs of dissension would thus be gotten rid of, that for the work of the individual preacher in the saving of souls, increased efficiency and a greater blessing would be assured, and that it would become possible to win back to the Church hundreds of our German countrymen who are now estranged from her. For this object I have labored since October, 1864, and not I alone, but all of us. . . . Meanwhile the work has

gone forward, slowly, but in spite of all hindrances, steadily. Two daughter congregations have been formed from the mother congregation, and the work done in them and by them has been greatly blessed. One of them, Emmanuel, has its pastor; the other, St. Johannis, calls me. . . . I see in St. Johannis not a strange congregation, but a part of St. Michael's and Zion's. And if I now take charge of this portion of the old congregation I am doing what I have wished and hoped to do, from the beginning, and what I would in any case, sooner or later do, if it be God's will." The Vestry were reluctant to let Pastor Spaeth go, and offered a considerable increase in his salary if he would remain in Zion's, but in vain. "Were not my wife and sister both ready to drink tea and coffee henceforth without sugar, if I would only accept the call!"

In the summer of 1867 Dr. Mann went abroad, especially to visit his aged mother, after a separation of nearly twenty years. Pastor Spaeth's mother took the liveliest interest in his coming, and her letters at that time are full of the subject. June 19th she writes: "I am not at all envious of dear old Mother Mann; for a meeting, a 'Wiedersehen,' behind which stands the black figure of a certain final parting for this life, would be to me a painful pleasure. For my part, I would like the experience, only with the expectation of seeing and having one another again. But that is just my own selfish wish. I leave it all to the Lord; but I *must* tell Him what I want!" When she again called on Mrs. Mann the American visitors were there. July 10th she wrote: "Dr. Mann brought your letters, and, with the splendid children, sat down beside me. Of course everything he told me was most interesting. . . . . When he spoke of the new position in St. Johannis he thought if you had been ten years older you would not have taken it. You are the right man for Zion's, . . .

they like to retain their pastors and are proud of having kept them, up to this time, for such long periods. With deep regret, even with moist eyes, he told me how much he loses in you as co-laborer. But he loves you none the less, and understands you well."

During Dr. Mann's absence in Germany, Pastor Spaeth continued to serve St. Michael's, Zion's and St. Paul's as well as St. Johannis, through the summer of 1867, which was made possible by the assistance of Mr. F. P. Mayser, then a student in the Seminary. Having secured a house near St. Johannis (922 N. 15th Street), he was obliged to move into it in June. Everything possible was done by the congregation to make their pastor's new home comfortable. Only at one point they drew the line. As long as Pastor Spaeth lived in Wood Street and preached on Sunday evening in St. Johannis, a grocery wagon with three chairs had conveyed him and his family to the church and back again. "But between 15th Street and Zion's there was no equipage!"

Pastor Spaeth was installed in St. Johannis on the sixth anniversary of his ordination, October 10, 1867, by Dr. G. F. Krotel, then President of Synod. Pastor Brobst read the service, Dr. Mann preached, and many friends from the old congregation were present. The same evening the Maennerchor of St. Paul's under the direction of their leader, Mr. August Schnabel, serenaded their late pastor, and this, with similar tokens of good-will on the part of the older congregation, was most gratifying evidence that not only was there no resentment of his action, but that a hearty sympathy went with him into his new field.

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CHAPTER V

ST. JOHANNIS

Congregation and Parsonage

1867-1893, (1910)

> Christus hat das Predigtamt nicht dazu gestiftet und eingesetzt, dass es diene, Geld, Gut, Gunst und Freundschaft zu erwerben oder seinen Vortheil damit zu suchen, sondern, dass man die Wahrheit frei oeffentlich an den Tag stelle, das Boese strafe und sage, was zur Seelen Nutz, Heil und Séligkeit gehoert.—*Luther.*

Immediately after Dr. Mann's return Pastor Spaeth had taken two weeks for much needed rest, visiting Reading and coming for the first time into closer contact with Pastor Kuendig, who gave him many valuable hints from his experience. Allentown and Atlantic City were also included in this trip. In Allentown he visited his friend, Pastor S. K. Brobst, "who had long ago harnessed him to the wagon of his *Lutherische Zeitschrift* as regular correspondent," and now wished to gain him for the *Jugendfreund,* and for the Sonntagschullehrer, a department of the *Zeitschrift,* which began in January, 1868.

He wrote at that time an explanation of the Gospels in questions and answers, which appeared later in book form and was used for years as a text book for Bible classes in his own and other Sunday schools. The Sonntagschullehrer he edited practically alone. "With great delight I threw myself into the Sunday school work, and, in my first enthusiasm, may well have looked

at things now and then through rose-colored glasses. At least I made the impression on many persons that I underrated the parish school as over against the Sunday school. For this I was violently and mercilessly attacked by the *Schulblatt* of the Missouri Synod, to the great distress of good Brother Brobst. I tried to take it as a lesson to me, especially as good friends and faithful men like J. C. Haas, then teacher in Zion's, had the impression that the parish school was not treated fairly in my articles." One excuse for Pastor Spaeth's position was the lamentable state of the parish school at that time in St. Johannis, as will be seen later.

On the Sunday after his installation, October 13, 1867, Mr. Spaeth preached his first sermon as Pastor from the text, Romans 15: 29, 30. "I am sure that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ. Now I beseech you brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me."

The life of St. Johannis as an independent congregation, began at a time when our whole Lutheran Church was preparing to celebrate worthily the 350th anniversary of the Reformation. On Sunday evenings Pastor Spaeth gave a series of six historical addresses, intended to make his people familiar with the great work of the Reformation. His themes were: 1. The Night. 2. The Little Star in the night. 3. The Dawn. 4. The Light of Day. 5. Wandering Lights. 6. The Duty of the Day. For the chief festival on the 31st of October, the lecture room was elaborately decorated with a fine oil painting of Martin Luther, and with garlands and mottoes, to which were added the chief dates of the Reformation, and on the following Sunday these formed the outline of the young Pastor's address at the children's festival. After the address the entire Augsburg Confes-

sion in rhyme was given by twenty of the scholars, who received Reformation medals.* In the same week the Friday Luther-evenings were begun, in which the most important of Luther's works were taken up.

On the First Sunday in Advent was held the first communion since the regular organization of the congregation, with over 200 communicants. Pastor Spaeth was pleased that so many came to him privately before the communion. He had provided in the Constitution, and had laid great stress on it in his first sermon, that no one should come unannounced to the Lord's table, the rule laid down in the Augsburg Confession.

For seven months, until the upper part of the building was completed, the congregation worshiped in the lecture room and school rooms, holding 600-800, and separated by sliding glass sashes. The seats intended for children were very uncomfortable for adults. The heat was often oppressive in the comparatively low-ceiled rooms. But that made no difference to the throngs that attended the services. The steps on both sides of the modest pulpit were generally occupied, the people standing up to let the preacher pass. "It was a time of 'first love' with pastor and congregation, on which I still look back with joy. It was a delight to preach to these masses, who seemed to have a real hunger for the Word of God." On the 18th of July, 1867, in furtherance of action taken in a congregational meeting nine days before, the Council resolved to proceed with the completion of the church.† But before

*These were probably the medals struck for the Jubilee, and issued by the Missouri Synod. They were sold by Pastor Brobst, and quite widely distributed among our German congregations.

†The Diary tells how Pastor Spaeth went every day to watch the progress of the building, finding always something new to admire. At first he had been afraid it would be too large, and sometimes he feared the plans were too extravagant for the re-

this could be done, it was necessary to erect on three sides of the building a high iron railing as defence against the unruly boys of the neighborhood. Later, when the church was completed, and the Pastor had his study in the sacristy, the railing was no defence against showers of stones and the general rowdyism by which the war of the street urchins was carried on. More than once the young Pastor was compelled to make a sally, and capture one of his tormentors, who was borne, shrieking "Murder!" to the dungeon under the pulpit platform, and allowed to howl there for an hour or two.

The architect Durang made the drawings and specifications for the building, which were accepted by the Council. The original plan consistently carried out the Roman style with the round arch, and had shown the chancel furnished in correct churchly taste, with an elevated altar back against the wall, and a pulpit at the side. "But I had a curious experience with my good vestrymen. To those born and bred Germans and Swabians the architect's drawing was 'not American enough!' They demanded a pulpit in the centre of a great platform, filling up the entire altar niche, and back of it a 'real American' red plush-upholstered sofa must be placed! For the altar the architect was not even allowed to make a drawing. 'I will attend to that myself' said our good President, a skilled carpenter, but one who had never made any study of ecclesiastical art or architecture. The result was what might have been expected. Under the fantastic curved rococo lines of the pulpit stood a poor little cupboard, called an altar, but on which there was no room for the communion vessels until a leaf was added, so that, like a kitchen

sources of the congregation. On the 21st of December, when the scaffolding was removed, the church won thereby "an entirely new and most friendly appearance."

table, it could be made larger when necessary! Twenty-five years I put up with this offence to my own churchly taste and that of others. . . . . In this matter I may have been too forbearing, in not debating the question and bringing my people to a right understanding. But as a young beginner I did not wish to throw cold water on their fresh zeal by such a dispute . . . so I preferred to keep silence and bide my time."

In October, 1867, the work was begun, and carried on so vigorously all winter that the church was ready for consecration on the 10th of May, 1868. A glorious day followed the dull weather that had cost many an anxious sigh, and as large a congregation as the lecture room would hold, assembled there. The Pastor began with a prayer of thanksgiving, the congregation sang the chorale "Lobe den Herren, den maechtigen Koenig der Ehren" and then marched to the main door of the church, led by pastors, teachers, Council and choir. Dr. Mann read the 118th Psalm; the assembled thousands sang "Tut mir auf die schoene Pforte"; the Pastor unlocked the door in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and the people streamed into the church. The act of consecration was performed by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, Pastors Brobst and Grahn assisted with the service, and Dr. Mann preached the sermon. In the afternoon the Sunday school celebration was held. The special services continued until Thursday evening, the preachers were Pastors Vogelbach, Grahn, Vosseler, and Kuendig. On Monday evening an English service was held at which Dr. Seiss preached, the singing, however, was German. At all of these services the choirs of the sister-congregations sang, under their own directors, Messrs. Haas, Schnabel and Roth. A few weeks later the first class of 52 members was confirmed.

The course of the summer brought other festivals.

The dedication of the bells, July 17th, drew a large congregation. After a Psalm of praise each of the three bells sounded a greeting, one after the other giving twelve strokes. The Vater unser was accompanied by the smallest bell,* and with the Amen all the bells fell in, and the congregation sang: "Nun danket alle Gott." To our people the sound of the bells is an echo from their childhood; and the greeting of the Vater unser bell to those who are sick or unable to leave home, is an assurance that they are present in spirit with the congregation, and may offer with them their common prayer before the throne of God. In September, 1868, a fine pipe organ replaced the harmonium which had so far been used at all the services. In its consecration the Pastors of St. James' and St. Paul's, and the choir of Zion's took part, and with it the equipment of the new building was completed.

When St. Johannis was consecrated the parish school still belonged to Zion's, and was only transferred to the new congregation in August, 1868. The teachers not having given satisfaction the Vestry decided to offer the position for competition. This of course provoked the old teachers, and the trouble soon spread. The whole choir resigned and, under the leadership of the former head-teacher, left the church in a body. Every week brought to the Pastor resignations of Sunday school teachers. The prospect was gloomy enough and all courage and pleasure in the work seemed at an end. The worst of it was that the Vestry was most unfortunate in its choice of new incumbents so that the result seemed, at least in part, to justify the opposition. "One teacher, clever, accomplished, and a gifted musician, vanished after six months taking the school funds with him. Another, whom Providence had seemed to send

* This was the gift of the Sunday school children, and bore the appropriate inscription: Hosianna.

us quite unexpectedly, through the Immigrant Mission in New York, was an unusually cultivated and highly talented man, also agreeable in his manners, who gave, however, such repeated offence that the opposition were confirmed in their antagonism to the Vestry. So the matter stood for about a year."

Meanwhile the election of Pastor Emil Riecke in St. Paul's had caused much disturbance, not only in that congregation, but also among Philadelphia pastors and in the Synod. After Pastor Spaeth's resignation from Zion's the Vestry were anxious to call another Swabian as his successor, but no suitable candidate could be found who was willing to come to America. When Dr. Mann announced that Pastor Riecke had been highly recommended, had received and accepted a call, his late colleague at once said: "That means trouble." He had known Riecke as a boy in Esslingen, and afterwards in the University where they were classmates, and did not think that he could adapt himself to American conditions.* Pastor Spaeth's fears were only too well grounded. In the Pastoral Conference Riecke soon alienated his clerical brethren by his un-Lutheran views as to the relation between communicants and voting members of a congregation. When he threw down the gauntlet by printing his opinions in twelve Theses, and circulating them among the congregations, Pastor Spaeth could no longer keep silence. In the *Zeitschrift* of February 20, 1869, he published a warning against these views, under the heading "Stimmrecht und Abendmahlsbesuch," which, the Theses claimed, have nothing to do with each other; whoever pays toward the support of a congregation should have a vote in it! Pastor Spaeth replied: "We do not make the communion compulsory. He who does not wish to come to it may

* Pastor Hole wrote of him: "He might do for Methodists."

listen to the sermons until he is better instructed . . . . and feels encouraged to come. But, he who does not commune is not a member of the congregation, even if he pays a hundred Dollars a year!"

Probably Pastor Riecke scarcely realized whither his twelve Theses were to carry him. He was much encouraged and praised by free thinkers, who began to swarm into St. Paul's until they formed a majority in that congregation. But when, in 1870, the Synod finally rejected Riecke's application for membership, the minority easily obtained an injunction against his officiating further, the constitution of the congregation clearly stating that the pastor of St. Paul's must be a member, in good standing, of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. The following Sunday Riecke found a policeman at the door of his (almost) emancipated church, and Dr. Mann in the pulpit! "This appointment called for a goodly portion of personal courage, when one thinks what sort of spirit was represented in the so-called 'free element,' and the threats they had made. . . . And sure enough, while Dr. Mann was preaching, suddenly a hailstorm of stones thrown by the champions of freedom, came crashing through the windows." In spite of this "incontrovertible proof that they were right and the Synod wrong" half a dozen of them spent that Sunday in durance vile, while Dr. Mann was honorably escorted home by a strong constables' patrol. Riecke's further history does not concern us; but for St. Johannis his brief career in Philadelphia worked great and lasting benefit. The teachers in St. Paul's had resigned their position in disgust, and one of them, Mr. August Schnabel, was at once called to St. Johannis. He accepted the call, and in February, 1870, began his work as head teacher and organist, continuing until his death, March 5, 1885, to serve the congregation faithfully and well. Pastor Spaeth found in him not only a co-worker

of highest value, but a personal friend and counsellor, honest, open, conscientious and fearless. To his persistence and warm love for true Lutheranism in doctrine and practice St. Johannis owed it, that the use of the Kirchenbuch was made possible in a fulness almost unique. Even the Psalms in the Vesper Service, although quite foreign to all his Swabian ideas and traditions, gradually became familiar through his training to both schools, and to the congregation.

Early in his pastoral work Mr. Spaeth had recognized the importance of reaching the children and young people. He once attended a children's service in Dr. Newton's church, which made a great impression on him. In his Diary he writes: "I must give more attention to the little ones. They are the chief material with which the work of God's kingdom can and must be done. Woe to us if we neglect it! Sunday school, children's sermons, confirmation instruction, Young People's Societies, are all integral parts of one great work. How gladly would I help in building up and improving every one of them." In St. Johannis he was able to carry out his wishes, and very soon introduced the Kinderpredigt,* or sermon to children, so far quite unknown in our German churches here, through which he brought the little ones into better acquaintance with the service of the congregation.

Unlike the parish school, the Sunday school of St. Johannis had prospered from the beginning. When Pastor Spaeth first saw and addressed it, in the narrow quarters at 13th and Coates Streets, on Christmas Day, 1864, there were 300 children. In February, 1868, when for the first time the anniversary of the Sunday school was celebrated in St. Johannis, the number had increased to 500. Beginning with 1869 the Sunday

*In 1871 he published "Brosamen von des Herrn Tische," six Sermons for the Young, which were very favorably reviewed.

school anniversary and that of the consecration of the church were united, and the "10th of May" became the double anniversary of St. Johannis. In more than one respect this was a happy thought. The congregation was thus reminded of the close connection between its history and the growth of the Sunday school. The wealth of bloom in May provided the profuse decoration required by the festival, and as the classes filled up again after the depletion caused by cold weather, the necessary rehearsals could be conducted with the whole body of children. Until the publication of the Sonntagschulbuch the "Kleine Missionsharfe" of Pastor Volkening was imported by the hundred, as Pastor Spaeth was not satisfied with the compilations offered in America. For the festivals an elaborate program was prepared, in which children, choir and congregation all took part. "In 1869 St. Johannis' Sunday school began to print its own programs. I believe we were the first to introduce this usage.* . . . For a few years other sister congregations also made use of our program, by simply changing the title page. The first 10th of May program was printed in 1870. Based on the Vesper Service, and carrying out a given theme (the Seasons, the Journey from Egypt, Martin Luther, the Church, and many others), these programs included the ancient Psalm tones, chorales and religious Folk-songs, in addition to the music for the choir. All of the numerous rhythmical chorales which our congregation sings with so much firmness and vivacity, they learned from and with the children." Three weeks after his arrival in America Pastor Spaeth's Diary complains of difficult breathing, hoarseness, loss of voice. "For years I had 'doctored' for my throat and voice, without much result. The

* In 1867 St. Stephen's printed its first Christmas program, to which the now well known hymns, "The happy Christmas" and "A babe is born," were contributed by Dr. Krauth.

thing that cured me at last, that developed and strengthened my voice . . . . was the singing with my Sunday school children! That may sound strange to some people. When my dear old friend Haas, teacher in Zion's, once visited our school and heard how the singing went, he thought it his duty to warn me. 'That will not do very long, Herr Pastor. You will kill yourself!' 'So be it!' said I, 'whether it means life or death, I *must* sing!'" (Erinnerungen.)

At the time the church was consecrated St. Johannis had no choir. A large harmonium, at which Miss Spaeth presided, led the singing, and the musical repertoire of the congregation consisted in a very few chorales, sung in the customary slow, long-drawn-out way which, in the 17th century, had supplanted the fresh, rhythmical chorale used at the time of the Reformation. After Mr. Schnabel took charge as teacher and organist, he soon formed two choirs, one for the morning service, the other for the Vespers. On special occasions both were available. Through the parish school * as well as the Sunday school a better understanding of Church music was soon developed in the congregation. Pastor Spaeth gave lectures on the spiritual Folk-song, and the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren, illustrated by the choir, which paved the way for the Sonntagschulbuch (1875) and the Kirchenbuch (1877). When the latter was published a congregational meeting resolved to adopt it, but a period of three years was allowed for the change from Wollenweber to the new book, and the two were used together until January 1, 1881, when Wollenweber was finally displaced by the Kirchenbuch.

"What a wealth of noble treasures from the old choir and congregational music became familiar to our people

* In the parish school Cantatas were frequently given with great success, including duets, trios and quartettes well rendered by the children.

through Mr. Schnabel's tireless energy and self-sacrifice! The congregation uses more than one hundred chorale melodies. The choir * has a repertoire of nearly two hundred anthems, etc., from which the Pastor need only make a suitable selection in arranging the services. . . . . During Holy Week, from Palm Sunday evening until Easter evening there is a liturgical service every day. At first this consisted only in reading from the Passion History, with chorales interspersed. Then my choir, always ready to sing, begged to contribute their part to the beautifying of the Passion Service, and promised that we should have a choir every evening. So now we have the Seven Passion Devotions, prepared by me on the basis of Schoeberlein, which are used every year from beginning to end. All choir music with us is *a cappella,* without accompaniment." † A few months after Dr. Spaeth's death the old choir disbanded, and the ideal conditions here described no longer exist; though every effort has been made to keep up the traditions of St. Johannis, and to train the young people as rapidly as possible worthily to fill the breach.

In Zion's a Young People's Society had been founded, mainly through the efforts of Mr. Siebott and Mr. Joseph Bremer. After the division the members of this society formed the nucleus of similar associations in the new congregations. The most important of these in St.

* Of the St. Johannis choir Cantor Roethig of the Leipzig Quartette wrote in 1902: "The purity and precision in the execution of the choir singing deserves fullest recognition, especially when we consider that the choir is composed entirely of volunteers. . . . . With this choir Professor Spaeth has fought for twenty-five years to introduce the old Church music and the Liturgy. It is mostly this pioneer work that we must thank for the fact that our singing in the United States has found such fruitful soil."

† This custom was introduced by Mr. Roth, organist in 1890, who also first called Dr. Spaeth's attention to the Lutherfestspiel of Hans Herrig.

Johannis was the Lutherverein, established by Pastor Spaeth in 1873. Its object was to hold our young people in the congregation, to foster their interest in the doctrine of the Church and in a living Christianity, to help members who might need assistance, and to promote refined and improving social intercourse. The regular meetings for the study of Luther's writings, begun by Pastor Spaeth soon after his installation, were held very informally in one of the school rooms, and were well attended throughout the winter. In the spring of 1886, at the urgent request of his young members, Dr. Spaeth began the Bible class which met every other Wednesday evening. The members were very faithful and regular in their attendance, and a society for assisting the Zenana mission was connected with it. At the meetings of the Bibelklasse whole books of the Old Testament were studied, as well as various Epistles, and the book of Acts. This class was a great delight to Dr. Spaeth, especially after he ceased to be full pastor of St. Johannis, in 1893, as it kept him in touch with his young people, most of whom he had baptized. He writes to a friend: "Now I am only 'Fruehprediger' having given up the pastoral work. And yet I continue to be called the 'first Pastor.' . . . . In thirty years a whole generation grows up, among whom one comes to feel at home like a father, or even, at last, like a grandfather. Altogether, in our free Church conditions, the relation between pastor and people is a much more personal one than it can ordinarily be in the State Church." Since Dr. Spaeth's death the Bibelklasse has also been given up.

The Frauenverein (Dorcas Society) was founded September 17, 1868, largely by the efforts of Mrs. Spaeth and Miss Spaeth, the former acting as Secretary for some years. In addition to its specific charitable work it has contributed generously to every project for

the advancement of the congregation, as indeed, every organization connected with St. Johannis has always done.

For the twenty-fifth anniversary of St. Johannis a complete renovation of the building was undertaken, and the classes confirmed in the first twenty-five years of Dr. Spaeth's pastorate asked and obtained permission to remodel the chancel according to the original plan of the architect. A committee of one hundred, four from each class, was appointed to trace out the scattered members, and beginning in 1891, was wonderfully successful. The jubilee offering more than sufficed to furnish the chancel in antique oak, and to provide an altar railing in fine brass. The font, candelabra, altar linen and cross were presented by individual members. September 9, 1893: "In May of this year my dear St. Johannis congregation celebrated its twenty-fifth Jubilee. Those were beautiful, never-to-be-forgotten days. Members who had been confirmed in the last twenty-five years joined together under my direction, and with the greatest enthusiasm gathered a Jubilee Fund of $2,000. With this I rebuilt our whole chancel in pure churchly style; a new altar, lectern, pulpit and stalls, with altar cloths, etc., in the five church colors, embroidered for us by the Deaconesses in Neu Dettelsau. You would find it all 'very high-church!' I feel that it is in necessary harmony with our glorious liturgical service. I have been patient for a long while with the former tasteless arrangement. Now I rejoice from the bottom of my heart, that everything is so beautifully and suitably reconstructed.

"The celebration of the Jubilee continued four days; on Sunday morning the chief service with festival sermon; Sunday evening a reunion of the confirmation classes of twenty-five years, when 700 out of 1200 came together; Monday evening a Mission festival. On Tuesday evening a great church concert, though not in

concert style, but in the form of a choral-vesper, where between the Scripture Lessons the most beautiful choir and congregational church music was given. I had drilled the choir for it, and directed the singing. Palaestrina, Eccard, Praetorius and the other old Masters received their due, and our festival guests could get a taste of the sort of music we have in St. Johannis; for most of the pieces are in regular use with us. On Wednesday, the tenth of May, we closed with the usual Sunday school anniversary." (A. S. to Hole.)

For the fortieth anniversary in 1908 the church was again renovated, and the fine memorial windows were added. One of these, Jesus among the Doctors, was the gift of the confirmation classes. In 1910 the inscription was altered to make it a memorial to the first Pastor.

St. Johannis Parsonage

Early in his pastorate in St. Johannis Mr. Spaeth had once amused his Sunday school by alluding to himself as a "kinderlose Vater." In 1868 this anomaly was happily ended by the birth of his first child, John Duncan, Sunday, September 27th. The proud joy of the young parents was scarcely greater than that of the venerable grandfather in Edinburgh, and in the spring of 1869, Mrs. Spaeth undertook the long journey alone, in order to gratify Dr. Duncan with the sight of the boy. He taught him to make a step or two, holding tight to grandpapa's stick, and when the travellers returned to Edinburgh after a visit to Esslingen, had the satisfaction of seeing the little fellow taking his first steps alone. Six months later, February 26, 1870, Dr. Duncan died at the age of seventy-four.

In June, 1871, after a serious attack of inflammation of the lungs, Mrs. Spaeth again went abroad, this time with her husband and two children, the younger, Heinrich Douglas, only eight months old. Both boys were

suffering with whooping cough, "which greatly increased the difficulties of the journey; poor papa jumping out of his berth every half-hour to hold up baby when the coughing came on, and getting very sea-sick before he managed to tumble back again." (Memoir.) After a short visit to friends in Edinburgh, the travellers went on to Germany, whither Miss Spaeth had preceded them by a few months. It was just at the time when the victorious German troops were returning from France; everywhere were triumphal arches, flags and garlands. Soon after crossing the Dutch frontier they passed the fortifications of Wesel. "There was a wonderful spectacle. Thousands of French prisoners in their red breeches swarmed like so many ants, within the walls of the fort. I lifted my first-born to the car window: 'Look out, my boy! You will never see anything like that again! Seven thousand captive Frenchmen to welcome us to Germany!'" (Erinnerungen.)

During the Pastor's absence St. Johannis had been faithfully served by his friend Dr. Notz. On the fifteenth of September an enthusiastic reception was given to the returning Pastor, in which council and congregation, Sunday school and friends, clerical and lay, took part, and for which the church was elaborately decorated. Mrs. Spaeth, who had again been ill for six weeks in Esslingen, was able to enjoy it from a quiet, sheltered corner in the church.

Pastor Spaeth's third child and first daughter, Maria Elisabeth, also a Sunday child, was born in the Fifteenth Street house; but in 1873 the family removed to the parsonage, 1615 Girard Avenue, where they remained for the next twenty years. Here, in quick succession, three sons were added to the little flock; Ernst Philipp (November, 1874), Adolph (December, 1875), and Martin Theodor (February, 1877). But the mother's health failed visibly from year to year, after the two

severe attacks in 1871. In 1874 she was greatly comforted by the return of her sister-in-law to America, not indeed to St. Johannis parsonage, but to Easton as the wife of Pastor Philip Pfatteicher, and so within easy reach.

Mrs. Spaeth had always felt the extreme heat of summer in Philadelphia, and after spending several seasons in Pughtown, Reading, and Ocean Grove, found that sea air was most beneficial to her. In 1876 a lot was secured in Sea Grove, later Cape May Point, N. J., and here a small cottage was built. Early in this year she had been reluctantly compelled to give up her beloved Bible class in the Sunday school, and to resign her post in the Ladies' Society. The first summer in Sea Grove was very sad. Mrs. Spaeth herself appeared to derive great benefit from it, but from the beginning there seemed no hope of saving her own little Adolph or his baby cousin Anna Pfatteicher, both of whom had been brought from Philadelphia extremely ill. Little Anna was taken first, and not many weeks later, as he entered the pulpit, Pastor Spaeth received the telegram telling him of the death of his little son.

May 27, 1878, Pastor Spaeth writes: "Since last fall I have moved my study over from the church to the house, in order to be nearer my family, at least when I am at home. That is only at the cost of many a working hour. . . . My health has not been good since Christmas. Toward Easter I was so hoarse that for several weeks I was obliged to give up my hours in the Seminary. After the Easter Week with its daily services was over, I went down to the sea for a few days, leading a sort of Robinson Crusoe life in our cottage there, in deepest solitude. I worked in the garden, sodded, planted trees, laid out beds and dragged in the earth for them, refreshing myself between these labors with a fine sea-bath—in April! That did me

good, and I came back to the arena, tired indeed in body, but greatly strengthened and hardened. I needed special strength for all the possible and impossible extra work, which, without thinking, I had accepted for these last weeks. I have been giving, partly here in the city, partly in other towns in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, a number of lectures on different subjects; for example, the Hymns of the Bohemian Brethren, the latest discoveries in Central Africa, etc. These lectures, as you probably know, belong in this country to the standing auxiliaries of the church treasuries, with which it is customary to help out a little when a deficit is imminent. The great lecturers, like Beecher and Company, are very successful in filling their own pockets. One of us, however, has the honor and the pleasure of merely helping his poor fellow-believers to a larger or smaller 'round little sum.' . . . In the last weeks I have also written my first longer English Essay, which has appeared in print, A History of Our General Council for the last ten years. I wrote it for a larger work: 'Fifty years in the Lutheran Ministry,' published by a certain Dr. Morris in Baltimore." (A. S. to Hole.)

From this time on until the end, the Memoir is rightly called "Leidenszeit." With wonderful energy Mrs. Spaeth still planned for house and children, and even took short journeys now and then. But in July, 1878, she wrote to Mutterle, in her last letter to Esslingen: "So long as it could look as if I were only seeking help for myself I had not the courage to ask for one of the sisters—I do it now not for my own sake—I do not believe that I will live very much longer,—but for the sake of Adolph and the children." To a dear friend in Edinburgh she wrote: "It seems as if the sea air which used to do me so much good was now too strong for me, and instead of soothing and strengthening me as it used to do, irritates the cough. . . . I feel

quite melancholy that my dear old friend, the ocean, and I, can't agree as we used to do, for I would so enjoy it here."

As the end drew near she suffered much from spiritual depression and doubt. Her husband told her once of Luther's saying: "We cannot prevent the birds from flying over our heads, but we need not let them build nests there." Later she alluded to her distressing thoughts as "little birdies of unbelief." A few days before her death she said: "I must have a clear set of words to embody all that is necessary in a dying hour. How shall I express it?" Her husband gave her Luther's explanation of the Second Article of the Creed: "I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord; who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, secured and delivered me from all sin, from death and from the power of the devil, not with silver and gold, but with His holy and precious blood, and with His innocent sufferings and death; in order that I might be His, live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence and blessedness; even as He is risen from the dead, and lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true." As he began she exclaimed eagerly: "That's it!" and followed word for word. She died on the twenty-first of December, 1878, St. Thomas' Day, "and as to the Apostle of old, so it was granted to her after all her perplexities, to come off triumphant in the blessed light of that victorious faith and confession: '*My* Lord, and *my* God!'" (Memoir.)

The Memoir which has been so frequently quoted, was compiled within a few months after Mrs. Spaeth's death, the last chapter being written in English for the sake of the Scotch friends. They, as well as friends in St. Johannis, read it with great interest, and it was

widely distributed abroad, even as far as Constantinople. Dr. J. Ruperti writes: "I thank you with all my heart for the 'In Memoriam' and for the benefit I have derived from reading it; and also for this proof of your friendship in counting me among the circle nearest to you and the dear one who is gone. But what a painful task the preparation of the book must have been to you! All the wealth of old reminiscences—and the contrast with the lonely present!" One friend who had distributed a number of copies wrote: "Old Jessie ———, who had reminiscences of Maria in her childhood, was very much pleased with it all, that is, with all the English. But considering it necessary also to read the German her patience was apt to get exhausted at a long screed, and she would say: 'I canna mak' ony sense o' that Frainch'—or: 'I wish he had na put in sae much Gallic (Gaelic)!'" (Letter, M. H. R.)

During the summer of 1879 Dr. Spaeth was in Europe with two of his children, visiting Edinburgh and Esslingen, where the little daughter was left with her grandmother. In Scotland he made a tour of all the localities most closely associated with Dr. Duncan's life. From Esslingen he went to Tuebingen, and took part in the celebration of the Jubilee of the Liedertafel, at which his mother and brother were also present. As he was returning to America on the Belgenland, a Norwegian bark collided with the steamer and was cut in two. Five lives were lost, the rest of the men were saved by the prompt and heroic action of Captain Jackson and his officers. This was the nearest approach to a serious disaster that Dr. Spaeth ever made, in all his many voyages across the Atlantic.

In the beginning of December, 1879, he spent several days in Rideau Hall, Ottawa, as the guest of his old friend Lord Lorne, at that time Governor General of Canada. Lord Lorne had taken tea with him in Phila-

delphia thirteen years before, while travelling in the United States. Dr. Spaeth enjoyed greatly seeing the noteworthy buildings of the city, and meeting the distinguished guests who assembled every evening at the dinner table. Most of all he enjoyed the quiet hour afterwards, in Lord Lorne's study, where they compared notes on literary subjects, or talked about the little motherless flock in Philadelphia, whose photographs Dr. Spaeth had taken with him. During his stay Lord Lorne insisted on his using a fine military cloak, fur-lined, as the climate was so much more severe than that to which he was accustomed. Whenever he went out in it all the sentries saluted, and we may be quite sure that he returned the salute with perfect decorum, and most impressive gravity. When they parted Lord Lorne exclaimed: "No thirteen years this time, Herr Spaeth, until we see each other! I hope it will not even be thirteen months." But though they continued to exchange letters, they never met again.

On the twelfth of October, 1880, Dr. Spaeth married Harriett Reynolds, only daughter of Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Krauth at Cranford Cottage, Miss Krauth's residence,* in the presence of a small circle of relatives. Next day the process of dismantling the pleasant little home was begun, and on the sixteenth Mrs. Spaeth took passage for Antwerp on the same ship, the Belgenland, on which Dr. Krauth had just returned from Europe. While she had already a working knowledge of literary German, she needed more practical experience in under-

* One of our older ministers calling at Cranford Cottage asked the meaning of the name and was told: "Cranford was a village in England, where ladies of a certain age devoted their lives to making both ends meet!" "I see!" said the good man, beaming; "How *very* appropriate!"

standing and using the spoken language, before taking her place as house-mother in a German home, and Pfarrfrau in the congregation. A few weeks later, in answer to the question what his fellow countrymen thought of his marrying an American, Dr. Spaeth wrote: "My 'fellow countrymen' especially those German brethren who are loudest in their demands for 'German' in Synodical life, and most jealous of any seeming infringement in that line, have found out long ago that my house, under the management of my Scotch wife was the most German of all, without my clamoring about 'Deutsch, Deutsch!' and in spite of my readiness for the English language wherever the prosperity of the Church seemed to call for it. Your trip to Germany at the very beginning of our matrimonial life will convince them that there is a perfect understanding between us on that point, that we are ready to maintain the family tradition which is, to preserve all that is good and beautiful in the German, and, at the same time, always remember that we are working at home as well as in the Church, for an English speaking future on English speaking ground."

In February, 1881, Mrs. Spaeth came home, and in July a more conventional wedding trip was taken, including Newport and Boston. The Biography of Dr. Krauth gives a picture of his pleasure in the new dignity of grandpapa so suddenly thrust upon him. In December, 1881, he held his own first grandchild in his arms, and two weeks later stood beside the little coffin in which so many hopes were laid away.

The New Year, 1883, began with heavy loss and deep sorrow. "On the 2d of January at noon, our dear Father Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth went to his eternal rest. We had never been willing to believe in the seriousness and danger of his illness, and so the end came unexpectedly, in spite of his long, gradual de-

cline. With a heavy heart our Church calls after him, 'the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!'" (Diary.) Dr. Ruperti wrote: "What a blow for all who loved him, and who can count them! What an irreparable loss, especially to the General Council whose good Genius he always was; the best, the mightiest, and at the same time the humblest; the most beloved, the most feared; sword and shield at once. I count it one of the blessings conferred on me by my gracious God in America, that I could know and love Dr. Krauth." (Letter, January 20th.)

Only a few weeks later a second blow fell upon the sorrowing family in the death of little Martin, just as he was entering on his seventh year. His dying mother had said of him: "He will be your comforter!" and never was truer word spoken. His sunny, loving disposition; his bright, resolute little face; his ready answer: "Ich verbir' (probire)!" "I will try," when any task was set him, made him the light and joy of the household. In April, 1883, the desolate home was cheered by the birth of a little daughter, Julia Carola. In 1885, on the birthday of his father, April 10th, Dr. Spaeth welcomed his seventh son Sigmund Gottfried. In November, 1886, another son, Reynold Albrecht, was born, and in August, 1889, the family of eleven children was completed by still another son, Alan Bertram. In 1891 little Alan was laid to rest, leaving seven brothers and sisters to grow to maturity.

Shortly after Dr. Krauth's death Dr. Spaeth began collecting material for his Biography. In a letter to Hole, April 12, 1883, he sketched his original plan thus: "Since Dr. Krauth's death I am over head and ears in the work on his Memoir, which, as Volume II, is to have a selection of valuable Essays from his hand. His work on Luther is unfortunately in very fragmentary shape. I may possibly be able to get one volume, up

to 1521, ready for the press. It is the greatest pity that he could not live to complete this work. It would have been the standard Life of Luther in the English language."

The next few years were crowded with all kinds of exacting work, besides his duties in the Seminary and in St. Johannis, where he still stood alone. His health was so completely broken down that his physicians ordered an entire change and absolute rest. Pastor Eisenhardt took charge of the congregation, and in October, 1891, Dr. Spaeth with his wife, his eldest son and the three little children left America to spend six months abroad, returning in April, 1892. The old trouble began again almost immediately. He was elected President of Synod, which added much to his burden of work, and for the second time he was obliged to decline an appointment as one of the chaplains in the University of Pennsylvania, which had first been offered to him in Capri. The death of Dr. Mann (June 20, 1892,) not only deprived him of his oldest friend in America, but by the resulting vacancy in the Seminary Faculty, obliged him to prepare a new course in Ethics, and to take up much additional work. He wrote an English sketch of Dr. Mann, and began collecting material for a fuller German Biography, which was given up when Miss Mann's excellent Life of her father appeared; he continued all his regular contributions to the church papers, and delivered lectures and sermons and festival addresses as usual. No wonder that by Christmas he had apparently lost all the ground that he had gained the year before. On Christmas Day, too feeble even to go into his pulpit, in a few broken words he dismissed his weeping congregation. A week of complete isolation and silence in Atlantic City restored him to some degree of strength to meet the new year, though he was not yet able to preach. After the cruel winter of 1892-3 was over, he had the great joy of seeing the church he loved so

dearly, reconstructed after his own ideal. In all his plans he was ably seconded by Pastor Eisenhardt, who had now been his assistant for several months. For this Jubilee he prepared a very full "History of St. Johannis," from the first beginning of the Sunday-school in 1864, down to the latest statistics of every association and every department of work in the congregation. Even more personal, as a reminder of their Pastor for twenty-five years, was the collection of sermon sketches, "Saatkoerner," which Dr. Spaeth compiled and dedicated "in herzlicher Liebe" to his dear St. Johannis.

In 1893, by the urgent advice of his physician, Dr. Spaeth decided to remove to Mt. Airy and to resign his position in St. Johannis. His resignation was only half accepted. He was to be relieved of all pastoral work, for which a second pastor, Mr. Eisenhardt, was elected. Dr. Spaeth retained only the Sunday morning sermon, his Bible class on alternate Wednesdays, and his place and vote in the Vestry. The result was most encouraging. He wrote, November 17, 1894: "You are right in thinking that I am vigorous and cheerful, and that my stay in Capri is still showing its effects. Yes, I may thankfully say that for many years I have had no such feeling of physical freshness, strength and elasticity as in this last year. I credit it partly to the Italian winter with its complete rest; partly to the skill of our Doctor Beates, who, by energetic surgical treatment of the nose almost entirely removed the difficulty in breathing; further, the change of air to our present home in Mt. Airy, near the Seminary, where we are about 150 feet higher than we were in Girard Avenue, and the relief from all pastoral work, have certainly contributed to the restoration of my health." (A. S. to Hole.) For two years he occupied a rented house, and on the twenty-second of May, 1895, moved into the fine, roomy official residence which had been built for him on the Seminary grounds from Mrs. Spaeth's plans.

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSOR AND PREACHER

1873-1894. 1894-1910

> We consecrate ourselves first of all, as the greatest of all, as the ground work of all, as the end of all else, to teaching and preparing others to teach God's pure Word, its faith for faith, its life for life, in its integrity, in its marvellous adaptation, in its divine, its justifying, its sanctifying, and glorifying power. We lay, therefore, as that without which all else would be laid in vain, the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets—Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.—*Dr. C. P. Krauth, October* 4, 1864.

We need not carry the history of the Seminary as the Erinnerungen do, back to the time of the Patriarch Muehlenberg; nor need we trace the widening breach in the General Synod which resulted in the founding of the Seminary in Philadelphia, and the formation of the General Council. "This was no small undertaking on the part of the Mother Synod, especially when we recall how little its members were accustomed or trained to give liberally to the synodical treasury. At that time 77 congregations with 12,000 communicants did not contribute one cent to the education fund! Sixty other congregations with 13,000 communicants brought together the munificent sum of $70.50 for this noble purpose. And with such material a theological seminary was to be founded!

"But, thank God, a new era of faith and life began to show itself in the Church, to which all things seemed

possible. A fine rivalry inspired both German and English congregations. Old Zion's gave the ground in Franklin Square, and five or six thousand dollars. Four professorships were endowed or pledged at once, and the New York Synod undertook to endow a fifth. After a few years the building on Franklin Square had become too small, and was altered (1873) to more than twice its size. In 1889 the Seminary was removed to Mt. Airy, and there, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the institution the whole place was dedicated, including the handsome new dormitory with comfortable quarters for eighty to one hundred students." October 4, 1777, the battle of Germantown began where the Mt. Airy Seminary is now located. The American pickets from the First Delaware stealthily approached the mansion on the site of the present Gowen building, and at the first fire killed the British pickets stationed on its steps. October 4, 1864, the first Faculty of the Seminary was installed. October 4, 1889, the new Seminary grounds and buildings were dedicated. October 4, 1894, on the thirtieth anniversary, Seminary Day was observed for the first time. Seminary Day was Dr. Spaeth's idea. He made the first announcement hoping that it would develop into a beautiful Christian Volksfest.

"In founding the Seminary the Pennsylvania Ministerium had a double purpose; first, to bring about a better understanding and a truer appropriation of the Lutheran Confession on the part of the young men who are being trained for the service of the Church; and, secondly, to make better provision for the German and German-American portions of our Church in the East. In regard to the language question the founders hoped to arrange for a complete course in both German and English. But with a Faculty of three full professors, one of whom was still serving a very large congregation as pastor, such a double course was absolutely impossible.

According to this plan every branch was to be given in both languages. As far as I know, this was only done in isolated cases; for example, Dogmatics were given by Dr. Krauth in English, by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer in German; but from the beginning the German Professor, Dr. W. J. Mann, was obliged to teach Hebrew, Ethics and Exegesis in both languages if these branches were to be given at all to English students. Besides, the Synod had declared in founding the Seminary that no professor should be forbidden to use either language in his instruction. Acting on this principle the Faculty always maintained perfect harmony between the professors of both languages. There was never a trace of conflict or jealousy between them. Each language respected the other, and both served the one common faith." (Erinnerungen.)

Dr. Spaeth quotes in translation, from an article by Dr. Krauth on the Necessity of the New Theological Seminary. Much of the original article is given in the Biography of C. P. K. He wrote: "We need the Seminary for the sake of the true co-ordinating and harmonious working of the two languages, English and German. . . . . The attachment of our German brethren to their language is not necessarily that blind, narrow thing which some imagine, and others pretend to imagine, it is. . . . Let us have a Seminary in which the one pure faith shall be the hallowed bond of both languages. . . . . The spirit of the new Seminary, the spirit to which it owes its life, is that neither English nor German shall be anything for itself, but shall be everything for Christ. . . . Nothing so binds men as a common faith. Never do men build heartily together until they are agreed as to what is to be built, and are persuaded in their inmost hearts that their work is, in all its parts, of God. . . . In the properly directed heart of young Christians of different

nationalities, there is a strong mutual interest and sympathy. . . . . Bring our young men together, to nurture them in one fixed faith, to breathe into them one intense love, to accustom them to one harmonious usage, to keep them working together practically, for a time, in one field; then send them forth, and the bond which unites them can never be broken. . . . Their theological training has been the time of their entrance into the inner court of the communion of saints. . . . Then may we hope for a true unity, which shall beget a substantial and healthy uniformity."

When Pastor Spaeth attended the impressive service, October 4, 1864, at which the first Faculty was installed, he could have no idea that eight years later he would be chosen as first Professor of the New York Synod. In 1871 Dr. Krotel, in his President's report, suggested to that body that the time had come to carry out their intention of endowing a professorship in the Philadelphia Seminary. Whereupon the Synod resolved to accept the friendly and fraternal proposition of the Pennsylvania Ministerium that they should found such a professorship, under conditions to be agreed upon later. There was no difficulty in coming to an understanding. The New York Ministerium was to have the right to name a candidate for its professorship whenever a vacancy occurred, but the final election remained with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The control of the endowment fund was entirely in the hands of the New Yorkers, and they were to be represented by three clerical and three lay members in the Seminary Board. In 1872 Dr. Krotel closed his Report with the hope that before adjourning, the Ministerium would nominate a professor and find ways and means for his support. The Synod went to work with great enthusiasm. The pastors bound themselves to contribute the annual sum needed for their professor from their own pockets, and the President was

authorized to circulate a subscription list among them at once! A committee was appointed to make the nomination. "The candidate must be a faithful member of our Evangelical Lutheran Church; must be rich in theological attainments, and possess a gift for teaching, combined with vigorous strength, devoted fidelity, and kindly zeal; must be familiar with conditions in the Church in America; must be so far a master of the English language that he can not only understand, but freely speak and write it; must have the confidence of our own circles as well as that of the venerable Ministerium of Pennsylvania, by which our nomination must be confirmed." Whereupon Pastor Spaeth was unanimously nominated as the Professor of the New York Ministerium, and elected at the next meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod in Pottstown, 1873. On the tenth of September in that year he was solemnly installed, in Zion's church, at the same time that Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, who had so far been professor extraordinary, became full professor as the incumbent of the chair recently endowed by the Burkhalter family of New York. Professor Spaeth's inaugural address consisted in brief sketches from the history of Exegesis, taking up especially Augustine in the patristic period, and Luther in the Reformation era. He wrote to a friend: "I need not tell you, that it was no academical inaugural, in the sense of a German University!" For more than twenty years he served the Seminary as its New York Professor, having, in 1875, supplemented the entrance requirements of that position by receiving the title of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania.* During this long period he suffered much from asthma, often spending the greater part of the night in his chair, but he never failed to be with his class by eight o'clock in the morn-

* In 1896 the degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by Muhlenberg College.

ing. Even after the Seminary was removed to Mt. Airy while he continued to reside in St. Johannis' parsonage, he made no change in his hours.

His correspondence with his friend Pastor Hole gives many details of his work. Hole writes, October 30, 1872: "What you have told me of approaching changes and the enlargement of your field of labor, interested me very much even if it did not exactly surprise me; for this time it did not take much power of divination to discern that the confidence which the Synod has already placed in you, would soon call you to further service. As time passes, I have an ever increasing respect for your learning and for your ability to accomplish something, especially in the more practical departments, and am convinced that you may follow this call without hesitation, relying on Him who has thus far guided your life so wonderfully, and has so richly blessed your work. May He establish your heart, and when you have given your glad assent may He be near you with His grace and power; may He increase the gifts of His Spirit to you, and make you an efficient laborer in your future work in His vineyard! It is a responsible, but a glorious work, to train younger brethren for the ministry. Do not withdraw your hand from the plow!"

March 10, 1874. "Last August as delegate from our old Pennsylvania Synod, I attended the meeting of the New York Synod, which, as you know, nominated me as their Professor in our Seminary here. I was very kindly and courteously received there, and spent several days very pleasantly in the circle of 70-80 ministers who, with the same number of laymen, constitute the Synod. Although I was already on friendly terms with the leading spirits, the majority of the pastors were strangers to me. As their Professor I count of course, to a certain extent as one of themselves, and shall probably, from now on, visit the New Yorkers regularly.

"My department in the Seminary is principally New Testament Exegesis. This year I have Isagogics, and Hermeneutics—Epistle to the Romans, and the Pericopes of the Church Year, the latter mostly treated exegetically. We expect that students entering the Seminary shall have the preparation usually given by our 'college' in this country—answering to the German Gymnasium. Certainly, in many exceptional cases, we find ourselves compelled to lower our requirements; and even from those 'graduates' who have their college diploma in their pockets, we cannot expect the solid classical education in Greek and Latin, which we take for granted in a student beginning his theological studies in Germany. Still, our young men are able to read the New Testament in Greek. They only begin Hebrew in the Seminary, and naturally do not get very far in three years. . . . We have at present fifty-three students, but when I speak of them as 'young gentlemen' I must do so with some limitation, seeing that several of them are quite a good deal older than I am! * They all reside in the institution, which is charmingly located on one of our handsomest public gardens, Franklin Square, and contains rooms for sixty students, besides apartments for the steward's family and for the Chaplain. This office was filled until a few months ago by our old Mission-veteran, Dr. Heyer, a man over eighty, but still retaining much of his youthful vigor. He was in India, among the Telegus, three times. His death in December was a great loss to our institution, which, so far, has not found his successor. . . . Although Dr. Mann and I are usually called the German Professors, that must be taken *cum grano salis,* as we must use the English language frequently, if the majority of our students are to gain anything from our instruction. . .

* In later years many students sat at his feet, whose fathers he had also taught.

. . I give all my lectures in both languages. I have my German manuscript before me and dictate German and English together; which does not waste much time as ordinary dictation goes but, where the lecture might be a little more free, acts as a brake. In each hour the last lecture is gone over in questions (the student being called on by name to answer), before the new lesson begins.* Naturally, what we accomplish is very unpretentious, and we are well aware that our students do not carry away any remarkable provision of theological erudition, . . . but still we may hope that, to those who have entered the Seminary from a true inward calling, an opportunity is offered to become reasonably acquainted with theology, and that they are encouraged in every way to learn much that is valuable.

"I undertook the instruction in the Seminary with great anxiety, partly because I am well aware of the deficiencies in my own theological training, and especially also, because, after all the throat trouble that I have had to contend with in recent years, it seemed pure foolhardiness for me to attempt to fill two such exacting offices as my pastorate and my professorship. But the Lord has helped me far beyond my expectation. I have never spent a winter here in such perfect health, or with such a glad and grateful feeling of strength and endurance in my work. Every morning at 7:30 I must

*In 1905 the Seminary Board reported to Synod through Dr. Jacobs: "In recent years methods of teaching have been completely changed, and the old system, by which the Professors lectured and the students were receptive until examination, or by which the Professors simply saw to it that a text book was memorized, is largely supplanted by courses of required reading and exhaustive investigation, on the part of the students, while the Professor's work is largely that of directing this course, keeping the bibliography of the subject up to date, criticising the authorities used, and supplimenting the efforts of the students by his own material."

tramp from my house to the Seminary, one English mile distant, where, at eight o'clock, I have the first lecture. After one or two hours I return *per pedes apostolorum,* to my 'Northwest,' to my study in the church, until my confirmation instruction calls me off again, four times in the week. In the afternoon come pastoral visits and other work. The evenings and early morning hours are devoted to professorial labors. In comparison, Saturday and Sunday with two sermons are now almost a recreation, at least a relief! I preach more easily and with less physical exertion than ever before. Wednesday evening I have a weekly sermon; afterwards a Bible class with my Sunday-school teachers. Hardest of all is the multifarious committee work (Hymnbook, Catechism, Sunday-school Book) with which I am loaded by the general Church bodies. Such a committee meeting lasts usually a whole week, requiring every hour between meals, each day. With all this you can understand when I say, this winter I am a wonder to myself, in the fresh strength that is given me day by day. I praise and thank the Lord for it. May He accept and bless as it may please Him, the little that I can do." (A. S. to Hole.)

August 3, 1875. "In my various positions work is never lacking, and often I am almost a little tired, but I always get through! During the last Seminary year, September, 1874, until Trinity, 1875, I had the following branches: Hermeneutics, New Testament introduction, New Testament theology, Pericopes (first half of Church Year) and liturgical practice. I had the seniors in my house several evenings during the winter, in order to come closer to them than is possible in the lecture room alone. Of course my congregation suffers a little under this many-sided activity; according to ideas prevalent here I ought to make more visits, and house visitation has always been one of my weak sides! But I can

say that the Seminary interferes less with my pastoral duties than the unending Committee work with which the Synod overburdens me." *

When Dr. Spaeth took charge of the course in German Homiletics, in a review of the "Saatkoerner" the students were congratulated on such a worthy successor to Dr. Mann, and Dr. Spaeth's own standing as a preacher received most friendly recognition. "Everyone knows that, taking him all in all, Dr. Spaeth occupies the position in the German American Lutheran Church which, thirty years ago, was given in Germany to Ahlfeld or Gerok, or ten years ago to Max Frommel. The 'Saatkoerner' can stand beside the collected sermons of any of these Masters in this department." "Dr. Spaeth's sermons are based upon most thorough exegetical study of the passage, the results of which have been so thoroughly assimilated that he uses them with entire freedom, and with no trace of the labor that has been expended in gathering them." In the early years of his ministry Pastor Spaeth's sermons drew crowded houses. He was the "new broom" as he himself once said; his interesting, rather frail appearance, and the unusual and somewhat romantic circumstances under which he came to America, also contributed to his popularity. He knew this, and his earlier Diaries show how strictly, almost morbidly, he criticised his own performances. If he thought a sermon good it was "miserable vanity." If he thought it poor, this was "an overweening desire for the praise of men." When he found it neither one nor the other he feared that he was growing "cold and indifferent to his sacred calling."

For seven years in the beginning of his pastoral work, Mr. Spaeth made it a rule, even for the Wednesday evening service, to write his sermons out in full. "This

* In some of these years there were only three or four standing committees of which he was not a member.

Chancel of St. Johannis

practice I still recommend to my students. Even if it is only for the sake of a careful and correct use of language, this should be the rule with beginners. Even more necessary is it, in order to preserve a clearly arranged succession of thoughts, and to present them in a regular progression. To the great message which the preacher brings to the souls of men, it is certainly due that the messenger himself should be quite sure what he is to say, and how he can best say it." He urges the importance of studying the Scriptures, especially the portion chosen for a sermon, with all the help one can employ, but not depending too much on sermon books. "I can only say of two preachers that I read them again and again, and studied them in detail. These two are Dr. Martin Luther, from whom every theologian and preacher can always learn, and my countryman Georg Konrad Rieger, who was Stiftsprediger in Stuttgart, in the eighteenth century, about the time of Father Muehlenberg. . . . . Above all I have him to thank for warmth and animation in my own heart, and for the impression of the inexhaustible fulness of the Gospel as treated in his sermons. . . . For years I always let Rieger preach to me, before I went at the preparation of a sermon." (Erinnerungen.)

The old, old question, whether the Gospels and Epistles of the Church Year or free texts are preferable, was settled by Mr. Spaeth very early in his pastorate. For the chief service on Sundays and festivals he used the Gospel of the day. For Sunday evening or weekday services he took up entire books of the Bible, or the Catechism. This left him very little opportunity for selecting a free text, though for particular occasions and in specially noteworthy experiences, public or congregational, he used his liberty in that respect. "In 1873, after my election as New York Professor of our Seminary, I was sent as delegate from our Synod to the

New York Synod in Utica, and was invited by the President to deliver the Synodical sermon. I thought this must be a very special sermon for my clerical brethren, and that they should see what spirit animated their newly elected professor. A free text was chosen, and for three weeks I was absorbed in the Synodical Sermon, improving here, filing away there, so that my wife observed at last: 'Nothing will come of that sermon, you are working far too much at it.' On Thursday morning Synod opened with a service and a pastoral address by my friend Dr. Moldehnke. He went into the pulpit, opened the Bible and read—*my text!* . . . I wrote to my wife: 'You were right about the sermon. Nothing has come of it.' And on Sunday morning I preached a simple congregational sermon on the Gospel for the day." (Erinnerungen.)

In an address (Seminary Day, 1914) on the theme: The Great Preachers of the Seminary, Dr. C. Armand Miller said: Those who had the privilege of frequently hearing Dr. Spaeth in his pulpit can never forget or lose the impression of his great gifts as a preacher of the Gospel. It is easy to single out qualities that belong to the explanation of his power and charm: the attractive influence of his noble personality; the perfect beauty of his musical diction; the fulness of his knowledge; the aptness of personal application of the truth; the insight into the depths of meaning in the Scripture he was interpreting; the simplicity and strength of his faith and loyalty to the divine Word; the fervor of his spiritual power, so that, more than the sense of admiration was the consciousness of the deep stirrings of the heart, moved by his ministry of the Spirit-filled message of God's truth. But all these single gifts and qualities, blended in the consecrated energy of mind and heart devoted to Christ and to His Gospel, made, in the reality of the preacher's work, an impression beside which the attempt

to analyze and estimate the secret of his power, seems but a chilly shadow. Later, in a letter on this subject, Dr. Miller adds: I cannot put into words what I would like to say of him as my ideal prince of preachers. I consider Dr. Spaeth the greatest preacher that I have ever heard. . . . In spite of the restraint of the occasion in the way of comparisons, I think that those who heard me must have understood that when I spoke of Dr. Spaeth I was acclaiming my hero!

As early as 1883 there was, on the part of some of the New Yorkers, an openly expressed wish to fill the Pennsylvania Professorship left vacant by the death of Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, by installing Dr. Spaeth in it; the fact being well known that New York had not been able to fulfill its financial intentions toward its Professor. The position of the New York professor had never been a bed of roses. Apart from the uncertainty regarding the promised support, to which Dr. Spaeth was singularly indifferent, he had been repeatedly attacked by various factions in the Synod. He writes, in November, 1876: "Recently I have been the object of bitter personal assaults in the church papers, from the ultra-confessional side, which have been very painful for one as sensitive as I am. But I think that also is part of service (*Dienst*), that now and then we must let somebody wipe his shoes on us. It may be that my position as New York Professor may come in question through these attacks, for I intend at the next meeting of the New York Synod, to force the matter to a decision." (A. S. to Hole.)

In 1893, just before adjourning, the New York Synod had passed resolutions intended to restrict their professor to the use of the German language. These, however, were so vaguely stated that they seemed to imply a general censure of his official acts. Dr. Spaeth

at once offered his resignation unless the resolutions were rescinded. The President of the Ministerium stated publicly that the resolutions did not express the position of that body, and his statement was confirmed by the Synod in 1894. Even the language restriction was withdrawn, their Professor having explained again and again that only part of the classes could benefit by purely German instruction.

But the resignation was tendered and accepted nevertheless, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania having just elected Dr. Spaeth, almost unanimously, as successor to Dr. Mann. He writes, June 3d: "My resignation was accepted by a rising vote, with thanks for my 'self-denying' services.* Many kind words were said by some of my former students, testifying their warm attachment to their old Professor, and their high appreciation of his services."

After his removal to Mt. Airy, which brought about a much closer relation to the Seminary, Dr. Spaeth took up his work with renewed energy. "Besides my usual lectures in which I always used the German and English side by side, I employed special means to rouse and keep up an interest in German among the students, particularly in the Luther evenings. A few faithful ones came

*Although Dr. Spaeth had been entirely satisfied to discharge the duties of the New York Professor without going into the question of his salary, the fact that, in 1876 or 1877, the sum of nearly a thousand dollars had been raised for him but appropriated by the Treasurer for another purpose, appealed quite objectively to his sense of right and justice. In 1905 the Executive Committee of Synod was asked to look into this matter, and was given power to act. The Committee recognized the debt to their former Professor by a unanimous vote, and paid it with interest for twenty-eight years, making a total of $2,300.00. Upon receipt of this sum Dr. Spaeth at once presented his own cheque for the full amount to Wagner College, thereby reducing its debt more than half. The balance was provided for by Synod, leaving Wagner free of encumbrance.

together regularly, with whom I went through the most important of Luther's writings. The reading was usually prefaced with a short historical introduction. All the different editions of Luther found in the Seminary library were brought together, from Wittenberg to Weimar. The students read in turn, not an easy task for those unfamiliar with the old print; now and then came an explanation, or a question requiring answer, all in a perfectly free and informal way.

"For years, on the last Sunday in the month when there was no regular service in St. Johannis, a German Vesper was held in the Seminary, which was intended to cultivate a sense for the beautiful old order of worship,* and for the German hymn and choir music. With great self-denial the members of St. Johannis' choir came out from the city for these occasions, often in stormy weather, and added greatly to the beauty of the service. Even the ancient custom of intoning was revived by the liturge,† a custom which is unfortunately almost unknown in our Church in the East." (Erinnerungen.)

December 17, 1897. "My congregation made the thirtieth anniversary of my installation, on the tenth and eleventh of October, a most imposing celebration, and used this opportunity to overwhelm me with tokens of

*Rev. F. E. Cooper in acknowledging the "more than kind notice of the Explanation of the Common Service" in the *Kirchenbote,* says: "I feel that our effort has succeeded beyond our best hopes when the man who first introduced us into the larger and deeper appreciation of the Liturgical treasures of our Church, gives to our humble but most painstaking efforts the unstinted recognition and praise which have come from his pen. And if our work should prove to be of any permanent value, no one will miss the mark who traces the impetus to its conception and preparation to the enthusiasm for liturgical studies with which the Professor of Liturgics at Mt. Airy fired his students."

† Dr. Spaeth himself.

love and esteem. . . . In this country such a long period of activity in the same congregation is somewhat rare. Even in our Lutheran Church there is universal complaint over the everlasting shifting of the pastoral relation. I have indeed no reason to boast in this direction, for I have never been subjected to the temptation to leave my dear St. Johannis congregation. Once only a call came to me, but at a time and in a way that demanded not a moment's consideration, as to what I should do. . . . By next September I shall have labored for twenty-five years as Professor in our Seminary. So the Jubilees gather over one's head, that meanwhile begins to be gray and white." (A. S. to Emil Wagner.)

In 1898, on the same day (June 1st) on which the first Convocation of Church Musicians assembled, the Alumni of the Seminary passed resolutions of congratulation to Dr. Spaeth at the close of a quarter-century of his work in that institution. Addresses were made by Dr. Repass in English, and by Pastor Pohle in German on behalf of the Alumni, and by Dr. Jacobs, representing the Faculty. This address is so far from being the perfunctory and conventional tribute often paid on such occasions, that it is given here in full. "With great heartiness the members of the Faculty congratulate their Senior in office, upon the completion of a quarter of a century of faithful work. They are not ready as yet to greet him as their 'venerable colleague,' since he is still at the meridian of his powers, and the gradual sinking of the sun into the west has not yet begun. But they rejoice that he is able to look back over so long a period, spent in most vigorous co-operation with so many devoted servants of Christ, who have long since passed to their reward—the instructor of so long a line of candidates for the holy office—and with the prospect, by God's help, of many additional years of service,

with far better facilities for his work than were at hand during a large portion of these twenty-five years.

"The youngest man ever elected to a full professorship in this Seminary, his career, which so many in this audience know, has fully justified the wisdom of the choice. For years a professor has to be a diligent student of the art of teaching, and to sit at the feet of those whom he is supposed to instruct, before he can live with freedom in his work, and make all his energies felt upon his pupils and the Seminary, and, through them, upon the Church at large.

"To the situation he brought a preparation of rare thoroughness and width. He came equipped with the best theological training that Germany could give,—not only that of a graduate of Tuebingen, but of the select circle of the 'Stift'—the pupil of Beck and Oehler and Palmer, the fellow-student of Cremer and Kuebel and Pfleiderer, prepared to deal with modern scepticism by having learned the sophistries of the Tuebingen School from the lips of their great exponent. He came with a vision enlarged by extensive travel, by a protracted residence among an English speaking people, by contact with the highest social circles and the deep religious life of Scotland. He was fitted for his work by familiarity with the Lutheran Church of Wuerttemberg, and the thorough organization of an independent Church in the land in which he sojourned. He brought to the Seminary a thoroughly practical spirit from his unintermitting pastoral activity. Few know the sacrifices he has made to serve the Seminary, and that for years his services were almost a pure gratuity.

"Before the public he has been a distinguished representative of all the Seminary interests, pleading its cause both by pen and lip with the rare powers of eloquence the Lord has given him. Every position which his calling as a Professor brought with it, he has filled with

all the energy and warmth of his soul. In the Faculty he has ever been a model of Christian courtesy—not that of the world which hides its convictions, but that of a man firm and uncompromising in his principles, clear and open as the day in their confession; like one of Homer's heroes hating falsehood as the very gates of Hell; ready to plead any cause that is wronged, and to run to the rescue of any interest that is suffering; but at the same time full of the spirit of love, inspired from above.

"For fifteen years we have labored side by side, without a single cloud to dim the brightness or chill the warmth of our friendship. Raised in different countries, trained in different institutions, and under different influences; representing different languages, and interests sometimes thought to be antagonistic; coming to the consideration of important questions often from diverging standpoints, we have co-operated with one heart and one spirit, and with unreserved confidence, in that one work to which the Church has called us.

"Of those who welcomed him into the Faculty, all have departed. But from intimacy with them all, I can speak today also for those venerated men, as they often spoke to me of their junior colleague. High as is the estimate which the present Faculty places upon the character, the attainments and the services of their Senior, it is no higher than the former Faculty placed upon those of their Junior.

"On his behalf we glorify God. Not in the spirit of flattery, but in that of sober recognition of all God's gifts, we thank God for having raised up for our Church in America such an instrument of power, and pray that for many years it may be preserved to us. Time forbids our entering into a detailed review of the many spheres in which his influence tells and will tell for generations. We can only say: Dear Brother, we wish if God so

will, for you many years of continued labor among us; and assure you of the record that is kept on high, and the reward awaiting those faithful unto the end!"

October 10, 1901, was the fortieth anniversary of Dr. Spaeth's ordination. He was attending the General Council in Lima, Ohio, and had no idea that anyone even remembered the date, until he received a telegram of congratulation from his congregation. Meanwhile the arrangements were rapidly completed, and on the seventeenth of October the deferred celebration took place. Many clergymen were present, of whom nine made addresses of congratulation, representing the General Council, Synod, Conferences, Deaconess House, Seminary Faculty, Zion's, St. Johannis and both of her branches, Christus and Markus. The liturgical service was conducted by Pastors Bielinski and Eisenhardt,* and then the speeches began, "of which" writes one who was present, "it may be said that they were all admirably short (nine addresses within an hour!), true, sincere, and free from empty flattery. And even if the object of all these compliments found them too much—through everything that was said ran a tone of praise to God who had set His servant to be a blessing to many."

Dr. Spaeth replied: "And now I am to say something yet; and you all think there has been enough said; and I think there has been more than enough. Dear Brethren, you have called this a joyful celebration. For me it has been a stifling one, and I have felt as if I were running the gantlet. All evening I have gone back for refuge to the text on which my first sermon in this country was based, which I selected in July, 1864, when I had been called to America, and worked out on board the steamer: 'My grace is sufficient for thee: for My strength is made perfect in weakness.' From

*In August, 1900, Pastor Eisenhardt had resigned his position in St. Johannis, in order to take charge of the Orphans' Home in Germantown, and was succeeded by Pastor R. Bielinski.

this text I preached my first sermon in St. Michael's, before twenty-one members of the Council, one single church member, Dr. Mann and the organist.

"In many ways the grace of God had prepared me for my office. He led me to study theology in the University of Tuebingen. . . . though my real studying only began when I became Vikar, and first learned to love theology. And then God led me to Scotland. There I came to know the Free Church, and learned English at the same time, also a preparation for my work here, though with it all, what I brought with me was no great burden. If I have now and then been privileged to do something in the Church, the Omniscient is my witness: I have never done or sought anything that did not come to me as a call. I could and can wait until something is forced upon me. That was my defence where I have made mistakes, that I could say I did not wish it, but it was demanded of me.

"Forty years in the ministry! How beautiful that sounds! But just think of the responsibility that is involved in it! I know this, my dear friends, that with all my cause for thankfulness this day, I have much more reason for the petition: 'Lord, enter not into judgment with Thy servant, but forgive all my omissions and mistakes.' And this also is clear to me: after forty years in my office there can only be a remnant of working time left to me,—perhaps much less than we think today. And then it will be said: 'Last Sunday he preached for the last time!' Let me ask then one thing of you: show that you love the Word of God; do not let your Pastor preach to empty pews; appropriate that Word, live by it, suffer and die by it. . . . May God forgive what we have done amiss, and cover our sins with His mercy so that when our last hour shall come we may depart in His grace, for in that hour nothing is of any value except the words: 'My grace is sufficient for thee: for My strength is made perfect in weakness.' Amen."

CHAPTER VII

SYNOD AND COUNCIL

1865-1910

"Ich dien!"

So far, at least in some degree, the chronological order of events in Pastor Spaeth's life has been preserved. When, for the first time, he became a delegate to the General Council in 1868, and a few years later, in 1873, was installed as Professor in the Seminary, he entered upon a wide field of activity and influence, besides the pastoral work which he never entirely relinquished. It is given to few men to engage with so much energy and acumen in so many departments, so unlike in their requirements, and to succeed in them all. Wherever the Church placed him, he was recognized as at once a prominent leader, a safe guide, and a most unselfish and tireless worker in the ranks. The story of these more than forty years can be treated most satisfactorily under the topics here given. Those who prefer the chronological plan, will find in the Index a complete harmony, if it may be so called, of his life.

IN THE MINISTERIUM

When Pastor Spaeth entered the Ministerium in 1865, there were 118 members on the roll. Father Beates, then in his eighty-eighth year, headed the list as "Senior Ministerii," an office held in great esteem then, but abolished later. In 1910, Dr. Spaeth was the thirteenth on the roll of 392 ministers.

He was greatly impressed and interested at the meeting in Lancaster, 1866, where the delegates to the General Synod in Fort Wayne presented their report, and his Diary contains not only a warm appreciation of the cultivated and hospitable people of Lancaster, but also a determination "to take up my work with new zeal, under the blessing of God, and faithfully and diligently to use the time vouchsafed to me." At this session he was added to the Standing Committee on the German Hymnbook.

In 1867, St. Johannis was received into Synod, and Pastor Spaeth became German Secretary of the Board of Missions for Philadelphia. In 1869 his name is on eight standing committees or Boards. In 1871 he was made Director of the Seminary, and in 1877 was a Trustee of Muhlenberg College. After 1874 his name disappears for a few years from the various Committees of Synod, owing no doubt to constantly increasing demands on him in the General Council, to which he was a delegate every year from 1868 on. After 1877 he was once more on very important committees; for example, on enlarging the power of Conferences, 1878; on the Constitution of Conferences and Synod, 1883, and on the re-organization of Synod, 1897; on a plan for commemorating the seventh semi-centennial of the Augsburg Confession, and the third centenary of the publication of the Book of Concord, 1879; and on the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth, 1880. In 1881 his name was added to the English Church Book Committee. To Dr. Spaeth may well be applied his own words in speaking of Dr. B. M. Schmucker: "In all this committee work he endeavored to make himself fully acquainted with the matter in hand. No trouble was too much for him, and he could never rest until his information covered the whole field. Then his clear, sober, impartial judgment, and the practical insight of his views found

acceptance in most cases on the part of his brethren."

In 1892, at Reading, Dr. Spaeth was elected President of Synod, and in that capacity took part in 1893 in the ordination of his second son, in St. Johannis church. He held this office until 1894.

"In 1893 the Swedes held a great Jubilee at Rock Island, in memory of the adoption of the Augsburg Confession by the Council of Upsala, March 5, 1593. I had the pleasure, as President of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, of conveying to them the congratulations of the Mother Synod. It was a magnificent festival. . . . . A mighty tent, holding 5,000 had been erected for the chief celebration. The King and the Church of Sweden had sent the Bishop of Gotland, Dr. von Scheele, as their special delegate. He appeared in full vestments, and handed to the President of Synod, Pastor Swaerd, the King's letter of Commission, which the President read in a loud voice, both in Swedish and in English, and then greeted the royal ambassador in the name of the Augustana Synod. The Bishop made the festival address: The everlasting Gospel as the most glorious heritage for which we must thank the Day of Upsala. Even for those who, not knowing the language, could not follow his eloquent speech in all its details, it was a pleasure to read the effect of his words in the faces of the open-hearted Swedes, who hung on his lips with closest attention and with moist eyes. . . . . In the afternoon Dr. Sigmund Fritschel presented the congratulations of the Seminary Faculty of the Iowa Synod. . . . . He warmly praised the valuable service rendered by Sweden in upholding and disseminating the Gospel in Europe. His words called out a most unexpected and affecting response from the Bishop. He asked for the floor as a special privilege, and replied in fluent and correct German: 'While in the providence of God it was granted to the Swedish nation to do great

and lasting things for the Gospel of Christ, let us never forget that it was the Germans who gave to the world and to the Church the Augsburg Confession. And thanks be to God that, in the memorable and decisive year 1593, there was in Sweden truth and honesty enough, and modesty and humility enough to recognize the worth of the Augustana, and to adopt it as the Confession of the Church of Sweden, instead of making any attempt to formulate another Confession.' " (Erinnerungen.)

On his way to Rock Island Bishop von Scheele had been a guest in the parsonage of St. Johannis, and during the celebration Dr. Spaeth had the great pleasure of spending several additional days with him under the hospitable roof of Pastor Olson, where Pastors Carlson and Norelius were also entertained. Dr. Spaeth attended the Commencement of Augustana College, and of the Seminary, making an address at the latter, June 8th. After a great banquet of the Alumni came the College Commencement, "in the big tent, with a concourse of about 5,000 people! There is a wonderful inspiration in these Swedish audiences. . . . The whole celebration was beautiful, dignified, inspiring to a degree that makes it equal our Luther Jubilee in 1883." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

In 1899, Dr. Spaeth wrote the congratulation of the Ministerium on the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Francke institutions in Halle, Germany, which was signed by the President and Secretaries of Synod, by Dr. Spaeth and Dr. Seiss. Throughout his active ministry he was frequently called upon for consecrations of churches, organs, bells, stained windows; for installing pastors; for introducing the Kirchenbuch; for festival sermons; for dedicating monuments. Among the first of these occasions, curiously enough, was the consecration of an English church, St. Stephen's, in the

summer of 1866. Nearly everyone was out of town, and, as the presiding genius of the little chapel naively told him, he was only invited because they could not get anyone else! The Diary records his pleasure in meeting the Pastor, Dr. Krauth, but it is not surprising that his general attitude toward the ceremonies "was quite cool, not to say 'frosty!'"

Dr. Spaeth preached comparatively seldom in any pulpit but his own, during the meetings of Synod. When within reach of Philadelphia he liked to come home for Trinity Sunday, and to preach on the Gospel of Christ and Nicodemus, always a great favorite with him. He often regretted that, in consequence of the absence of so many pastors from their pulpits, the beautiful Trinity Gospel was so little used as a text. In 1880, at the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Book of Concord, on the twenty-fifth of May, he made the principal address before the Synod in Lancaster; and later before the New York Synod in Canajoharie also. This was published at once, and a very appreciative notice appeared in the *Lutheran,* from the pen of Dr. Krauth, who, at that time, had no idea of the relation which was so soon to be established between him and his young clerical brother. He says: "The discourse of Dr. Spaeth is in every way worthy of him and of its great theme. Full of the hallowed fire of a pure devotion, rich in facts, principles and suggestions, it leaves nothing to be desired that could be expected in the compass of a brief address. We have but one regret for those who merely read it,—the regret that they could not have heard it, with all the power and charm with which it was invested in the living presentation of it by the orator."

THE SYNODICAL JUBILEE

In 1895, Synod appointed a Central Jubilee Committee, Dr. Spaeth, Chairman, to devise a plan for celebrating worthily the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Ministerium. This Committee proposed to collect a fund of $150,000 for synodical, especially educational purposes. For two years it published a quarterly, "Our Jubilee," intended to show in text and illustration what the Synod had accomplished, and what still lay before it, and tried by every means to foster an interest among our congregations in the approaching festival. In 1898 the Synod convened in Zion's church. "Its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary was to have been held there, and the festival committee, including the Pastor and organist of that church, decided to conduct the service after the ancient form for Vespers. It is almost incredible that the authorities in the congregation protested against this. Although this form had been used more than once in Zion's, at Mission and Sunday school festivals, without offence to anyone, the Mother Synod was curtly forbidden to use such a program for her Jubilee Service! Nothing remained but to hold the service in St. Johannis, where the choir, without further preparation, could carry out the festival program in old churchly spirit, as arranged." (Erinnerungen.) The church was handsomely decorated, the historical hymns on the program, which had been used at the founding of the Ministerium in St. Michael's, and at the corner-stone laying of Zion's, were perfectly familiar to choir and congregation. Dr. Spaeth preached the sermon, dividing the history of the Ministerium, and incidentally that of the Lutheran Church in America, into three periods. In closing he reminded his hearers of the mutual confidence existing in the early years of our history, between pastor and congregation, as an example worthy of imitation still.

In 1896 a work of great permanent value and interest had been put into the hands of another Committee, of which Dr. Spaeth was also chairman, his colleagues being Dr. Jacobs and Dr. Spieker. This was a Jubilee Memorial Volume, more exactly: "A Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Proceedings of the annual convention from 1748 to 1821 compiled and translated from records in the Archives and from written protocols." In 1898 the Committee reported the publication of one volume, giving, in 161 pages, an account of conventions from 1748 to 1780, gathered from correspondence and diaries, no protocol existing of that period. Part II contained full and exact reproduction in English, of the written protocol from 1781 to 1821, the year with which the first volume of this protocol closes. Other valuable material was omitted, as the Committee did not wish to exceed the limit of 600 pages. The Committee was continued, with instruction to publish another volume; but so little interest was shown in the first volume, that its sales never justified them in going on with the publication.

THE DISTRICT CONFERENCES

For many years after Pastor Spaeth entered the Synod, its discussions were much occupied with questions concerning the boundaries, the number, the rights and duties of the synodical conferences. In 1878 a paper proposing various plans for meeting the practical difficulties caused by the increasing size of Synod, and the great extent of its territory, was referred to a committee of two ministers and one layman from each conference. Dr. Spaeth was Chairman of this committee, his colleagues from the first Conference being Dr. Seiss and Mr. L. L. Houpt. Reporting in 1879 the Committee

found no cause for dividing the Ministerium, but proposed that much of the *business* of Synod be transferred to conferences, leaving more time for consideration of the general interests of the Church. In 1881 the question of dividing the Synod was again given to a special committee. In 1882 this committee, of which Dr. Krotel was Chairman, and Dr. Laird, with Pastors Kohler and Wischan were the clerical members, reported against the division of Synod into English and German, but suggested dropping the word "German" from the legal title of the Ministerium, which was adopted. In 1893 a thorough reconstruction of Conferences was effected. The territory, including the India Mission, was divided into nine conferences, which were to be designated by names instead of numbers, and which embraced both a German and an English Conference, centering in Philadelphia, to which the duties of the two Boards of City Missions were given. Under the Constitution any German congregation could be transferred to the Philadelphia German Conference.

From 1900 to 1903, and again in 1907 and 1908 Dr. Spaeth was President of this Conference. Many of his official sermons were printed in the *Kirchenbote* (1900-1908), having been taken down in shorthand by Pastor Goedel. The tour of the Leipzig Quartette was first proposed in the German Conference, to whose energy and enthusiasm much of the success of the concerts may be ascribed.

THE PASTORAL CONFERENCE

From the very beginning of his pastorate in Philadelphia Mr. Spaeth's Diary contains frequent reference to the Conferences. October 28, 1865. "Afternoon in Dr. Krotel's study, for the re-organization of the Lutheran Pastoral Association. Only five there, so nothing was done." November 6th. "Saw Dr. Krotel in regard

to Pastoral Association. Nothing done." This association may have been an informal continuation of the meetings held by Muehlenberg and his colleagues before the founding of Synod, and having no official character or connection with the Ministerium. By January, 1866, the Association had been resuscitated. January 5th. "Yesterday and today working on the Sermon on the Mount for the Pastoral Conference." January 27th. "Pastoral Association well attended. Appealed to me especially." January 10, 1868. "Dr. Seiss and I to prepare Theses on Baptism." February 17th. "Theses discussed. Quite instructive, but the tone of Conference is not serious enough with holy things." He thought the members bound themselves too strictly by parliamentary rules; and Dr. Krauth "made too many jokes!" Membership in this German-English Conference, as well as in the German Pastoral Conference organized many years later, was open to any pastor of the Pennsylvania Ministerium who served a congregation in or near Philadelphia. They were both purely voluntary associations. Concerning the founding of the German Pastoral Conference, Pastor H. D. E. Siebott writes: On February 13, 1888, it was organized in the old Seminary building on Franklin Street. Dr. Grahn issued the call.* There were present Drs. Mann, Spaeth and Grahn, Pastors Nidecker, Weiskotten, Bender, Dizinger, Linz, Gardner, Pohle and Jelden. Dr. Spaeth also regularly attended the English-German Conference, and it was he who, at this first meeting of the German Pastoral Conference, moved that the German brethren should thenceforth meet more regularly, every two weeks (there seem to have been informal gatherings before that time), and observe a regular order of business, "as is done in the English-German Conference." At this meeting

* The date is significant to those who recall the history of the Council and Ministerium in those days.

Pastor Nidecker was elected Chairman, and Pastor Pohle Secretary. Dr. Spaeth was asked to prepare the first exegetical paper for the next meeting, on the Pericope for the ninth Sunday after Trinity: Luke 16: 1-9. Although Dr. Spaeth never accepted office in this German Pastoral Conference, he was one of the most faithful attendants at its meetings, to the end of his life. "My Pastoral Conference meeting has its place on my calendar as a regular appointment" he used to say, and he never missed it without good and valid cause.

THE ORPHANS' HOME

As part of Dr. Spaeth's work in the Synod, his connection with the Orphans' Home in Germantown may also be mentioned. The Home had been opened in 1859 in a rented house. A few months later the present property was purchased, and in 1860 the Old People's Home was founded. The institution was very poorly supported. In 1864 Synod began to make appropriations for the reception of half-orphans of ministers, and to appoint regular visitors to the Home. In 1869 the Board asked Synod to elect three Trustees, but as this required some changes in the Charter it was not feasible until 1872. From that year on Synod elected six Trustees regularly, and at their meeting in the same year, the Lady Visitors elected Pastor Spaeth and two other Trustees. In March, at the anniversary of the Home in Zion's, Pastor Spaeth had taken part in the services. In reporting these events the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* advised, owing to a deficit of $10,000 and other difficulties, that the whole place be sold, and a new beginning made somewhere else!

In 1884 Dr. Spaeth was elected Recording Secretary of the Board, serving for nine months. Until 1885 he was a member of the School Committee, and in January,

1885, he was appointed as one of the first Spiritual Committee, to take care of the spiritual needs of the old people in the Asylum. He was present for the last time at a special meeting of the Board of Trustees held June 10, 1890, after their resignation, offered in consequence of the File defalcation, had been declined by Synod.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

The Biography of Dr. Krauth describes in detail the exclusion of the delegates of the Pennsylvania Synod from the meeting of the General Synod in Fort Wayne, in 1866, and the founding of the General Council, December 14th, at a convention of Lutherans true to the Confessions, held in Reading, Pa. In 1867 the new organization met for the first time in Fort Wayne, in the same church in which, the year before, the Pennsylvania delegation had been so roughly handled. "I was not present at the Convention in Reading, nor at the first meeting of the General Council. But since 1868, when I was sent for the first time as delegate from my Synod to the Council I have only missed two meetings; in Jamestown, 1874, on account of sickness in my family, and in Buffalo, 1891, when I spent the autumn and winter in Europe, for my health. In all these years the General Council has given me so much to do that I may well say that a large part of my life work has been devoted to this body. At the first meeting which I attended, to my great surprise I was elected German Secretary, an office which I filled for five years. In 1880, when my father-in-law Dr. C. P. Krauth was compelled by ill health to remain away from the meeting in Greensburg, I was chosen as his successor in the President's chair,* occupying it until, in 1888, Dr. Seiss was elected in Minneapolis.

*There was some feeling among certain English elements over this evidence of undue "western influences" in the Council, but

"The official sermons or addresses which I was called on to prepare for the opening of Council, gave me occasion to venture on using the English language. These sermons required naturally most careful preparation in the minutest detail, and I did not trust myself to deliver them without manuscript, as I would have preached in German. In the strictest homiletical sense of the word they were not really sermons, but "Essays" in which some timely subject was treated, and which were read. Later they were printed." (Erinnerungen.)

Rochester, October 20, 1881. "My first English sermon (Having and Not Having) is delivered, and I cannot tell you how relieved and thankful I feel. . . . I spoke without the least effort or fatigue. The attention of all was very close and satisfactory. I was not, however, quite as free from the manuscript as I had expected to be. Dr. Schmucker, whose judgment is the very highest to me, congratulated me: 'Nothing but the purest English,' etc. . . . . Some of the other English friends are evidently and amusingly surprised that 'a *German*' should have had the courage to do such a thing, and that it should have turned out a success on the whole." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

Lancaster, O., 1882. "The English sermon (Luther an ensample for our time) seemed to make a deep impression. Dr. Seiss said to me, in the presence of half a dozen brethren: 'This was my Reformation text, but you made a much better sermon of it than I did. It must be printed and go out as a testimony!' Dr. Passavant proposes to 'print it as a tract,* and scatter it broadcast over our land.' " (A. S. to H. R. S.)

the *Lutheran* expressed its appreciation of the manner in which he presided,—"though a German!"

* It appeared as No. 1 *Tracts for the Churches.*

THE MONROE SERMON

The German sermon preached in Monroe, Mich., in 1884, on the History of the General Council, was published in English by the Pastoral Association of Philadelphia, in 1885. Dr. J. G. Morris, at that time President of the General Synod, was most particularly anxious that the pamphlet, which appeared first in German, should be published also in English.* In reviewing this History of the General Council, Dr. B. M. Schmucker says: "Dr. Spaeth was specially fitted for this task. He had no part in the struggles which preceded the organization of the Council, he had no personal antagonisms of any kind, he is therefore a calm, impartial student of the past. He has proven himself a capable and diligent examiner of the successive phases of history through which the Lutheran Church in America has passed in the present century. The discourse now published is a clear and accurate statement of the history of the Council, and especially of the movements attending its formation." In the same article Dr. Schmucker prints the story of his journey with his father to the General Synod in Fort Wayne, and the frank disclosure by Dr. S. S. Schmucker of the Synod's intention toward the delegates of the Pennsylvania Ministerium.

The "Monroe Sermon" caused a good deal of comment, mostly unfriendly, in the General Synod. Dr.

* Dr. Morris had been an intimate friend of Dr. Charles Philip Krauth, was greatly interested in the development of Charles Porterfield Krauth from the beginning of his career, and had baptized his daughter who became Dr. Spaeth's wife. He and Dr. Spaeth were always on very friendly terms, and in 1878 the latter had written in English a History of the General Council for ten years, which appeared in Dr. Morris' "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry."

Joel Schwarz writes: "Some reading that is not very pleasant, but very useful to those among us of the General Synod who are dying for union with the General Council, is furnished in a very able sermon lately preached by that distinguished scholar and divine Dr. Adolph Spaeth (October 16, 1884), and 'Printed for the Pastoral Association in Philadelphia.'" He assumes that Dr. Spaeth represents the position of the Council, and is endorsed by the General Council Pastors of Philadelphia. This being so, it would be a good thing for "our zealous and hopeful advocates for organic union and co-operation to read, before ventilating their rose-colored schemes and prospects for uniting the Council to the Synod. There is enough ice-water in the big blanket of Dr. Spaeth's address to chill the body soul and spirit of the most sanguine unionist in the General Synod. . . . . But with all its chilliness, there is a certain bracing air of honesty, candor and plain dealing in Dr. Spaeth's address, which is admirable as compared with the sentimentalism which cannot see the real hindrances in the way to a speedy union." (*Lutheran Observer.*)

Less appreciative and good-natured were other writers in the *Observer,* who for over six months persisted in attacking Dr. Spaeth, even while he was in Europe. The matter culminated in Dr. M. Valentine's article: "The Effort to Reconstruct History in the Interest of the General Council," first published in the *Lutheran Quarterly.* Dr. Spaeth replied to this article, ignoring the personal abuse to which the author descended, reminding him that the discourse concerned only the action and attitude of the General Synod up to 1866, without a word as to the present state of things in that body, and without passing judgment on it or on any of its members. Dr. Jacobs called attention to Dr. Spaeth's article as "A deserved Rebuke." He wrote: "The facts

were so well known to those who were interested in church affairs at that time, and especially were so clearly supported by the immense amount of documentary evidence, which, in his preparation of Dr. Krauth's memoir, Dr. Spaeth has accumulated from all directions, that it was not thought that there would be any serious attempt to dispute them. . . . . Although the discussion of this subject is about two years out of date, ... it is well that Dr. Spaeth indicates briefly a few of the numerous points of weakness in the article referred to. . . . We are especially gratified with the discrimination between different tendencies in the General Synod with which Dr. Spaeth ends."

In addition to holding the offices of German Secretary and President, Dr. Spaeth served the General Council as Chairman of the Foreign Mission Executive Committee * from 1876 to 1891, when he was made President of the Foreign Mission Board; as co-editor of the *Missionsbote* for most of these years; as member of the committees on the Diaconate, on church music, and many others; as German Secretary of the Kirchenbuch Committee; as Chairman of the German Sonntagschulbuch Committee, 1873 to 1877; as a Trustee of the Council after 1880; as its representative in the Engeren Conferenz der Allgemeinen Lutherischen Conferenz in Europe. He was twice sent as its delegate to the Allgemeine Conferenz, to Hamburg in 1887, and to Rostock in 1904. His address in Hamburg was made the pre-

* November 30, 1876. "At its last meeting our General Council appointed me Chairman of the Foreign Mission Committee, thereby laying a new burden on my shoulders. Unhappily the result of such overloading is, that one can only do hastily what one would gladly do well; and altogether one's working power is rather frittered away, than concentrated. It also makes me often nervous and irritable, for it is a pure impossibility to do everything at the same time, that is required of me on all sides, and to do it right."—(A. S. to E. W.)

text for most unexpected and widespread disturbance in the Church, and will be taken up in this connection later.

In Rostock Dr. Spaeth not only represented the General Council in the "Engeren Konferenz" but also, in the public assembly, treated the theme which had been assigned to him: The International Significance of the Lutheran Confession. This was translated by Dr. J. Duncan Spaeth for the *Review*, January, 1905, and was also printed separately. Of this address the *Alter Glaube* of October 14, 1904, says: "Dr. Spaeth of Philadelphia, a Wuerttemberger by birth, who had received his theological education in the Tuebingen Stift, traced to his hearers the course of the Gospel from Rome to Germany, and from Germany to America; and then described the entrance of the Lutheran spirit into the English world, which, while indeed once frustrating the historical course of the Reformation, was now, with resistless power, furthering it,—an event to be estimated as one of the most important in Church History.

"Naturally all eyes were at once turned on the distinguished representative of the American General Council. He embodies in his own person the bond that unites us with North America. When he looked back, a slight tremor of homesickness was in his voice. He thought of the rich portion which he had received in Germany from pious parents, from faithful teachers, from the ideality of his comrades, and had carried with him across the ocean. But looking forward his eye sparkled with triumph and hope. He saw the aspiring American nation, and, with her rapid growth, found the best pledge for her future in the healthy heart's blood of the Lutheran faith. But that is in fact the epoch through which we all, many of us unconsciously, are passing in these days. The history of the Lutheran Church has also turned its face westward. What in Europe, enfeebled by old age, is now declining, shall

revive, shall renew its strength, on the other side of the sea." On the thirty-first of January, 1905, the Diary records that Dr. Spaeth "wrote a letter to President Roosevelt, sending him the Rostock address, on account of his warm and intelligent tribute to the Lutheran Church at the re-opening of Dr. Butler's Memorial church in Washington."

THE GALESBURG RULE

"A discussion of the greatest importance, which from the first convention on, kept the General Council for years in great agitation, and led to the withdrawal of several western Synods, was the question of the admission of non-Lutherans to our pulpits and altars. The great difficulty lay in treating such a question, which really belongs in the sphere of doctrine and confession, according to parliamentary usage; in attempting to reach a conclusion by the clumsy means of motions, amendments, and final resolutions, instead of discussing the principles underlying the doctrine involved, by means of Theses. . . . . Never was this more clearly shown than when all the earlier resolutions passed on this question culminated in the so-called Galesburg Rule: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only; and this not merely as a regulation for pastoral usage, but as a principle grounded on the Word of God and the Confessions of the Church. Very gradually, and against much opposition, had this declaration been reached. . . . Even the conservative leaders of the General Council, who took the question seriously, were slow in rising above the opinion that the whole matter belonged to pastoral theology. . . . Dr. Krauth indeed was clearly aware of the inconsequence of this position, and saw that the question would be at once and correctly

settled only by adopting the view of the Iowa Synod. In 1871, in private conversation, he had declared to me his firm conviction that no other satisfactory solution of the difficulty was possible.

"This was the position formally taken in the Galesburg Declaration of 1875. But the storm raised by this action, particularly in the English portions of the General Council, showed clearly that, after ten years' discussion we had only reached the point where we ought to have begun, in 1867, at Fort Wayne. We found ourselves obliged, in order to reach a true conviction of the correctness of this principle and of its conformity with Scripture, to take up the whole question stated in thorough-going Theses, instead of trying to carry out resolutions of the majority which must always be obnoxious to the unconvinced minority. Accordingly, at the meeting in Bethlehem (1876), after days spent in fruitless debate, I moved that the President of the General Council, Dr. Krauth, be appointed to prepare a series of Theses on the Galesburg Declaration, and the principle underlying it.* So it came to pass that in 1877, in addition to the fourteen valuable Articles which Dr. Krauth had already published in the *Lutheran,* the pregnant series of 105 Theses was given to the Church. . . . .

"I need make no secret of the influence on my own personal and official relation to this question, exerted by my friend Sigmund Fritschel. . . . . Long before there was a Galesburg Rule its spirit guided me in St. Johannis in the admission of communicants to the Lord's Supper. But for me, too, the question was, for years, merely a matter of pastoral practice. Only gradually I grasped it in its full meaning, as a question of confessional principle. I always hoped that by the

* See Krauth Biography, II, 222 ff.

same gradual development, our English brethren who were true to the Confession would reach the same conclusion. When, in 1876, the New York Ministerium accepted without reserve the principles of the Galesburg Rule, and Dr. Krotel resigned his office as President of Synod in consequence of this action, I sat with him until midnight one evening, trying to convince him that one who was so faithful and decided in his confessional position, and so conscientious a pastor as he was, should have no difficulty whatever with the Galesburg Rule. I fear, however, that my arguments made no deep or lasting impression on him.

"There was probably no pastor in the General Council whom this question affected so deeply and so painfully in his personal and domestic life, as myself. My own wife, who later, by the grace of God, died in the full Lutheran faith, but whose whole religious training had been of a distinctly Calvinistic character, could not commune, under the Galesburg Rule, in the congregation for whose building up and prosperity she had always labored with so much self-denying love and enthusiasm. That was not easy for either of us, but we went through with it serenely and firmly, not attempting to hush it up, however painful it might be." (Erinnerungen.)

LITURGICS

"As a child of the Wuerttemberg Church I had no opportunity in my youth to become acquainted with the richer, fuller forms of the Lutheran liturgy. The service of our Church in Wuerttemberg is to this day the simplest that one can imagine. The whole participation of the congregation is limited to a few verses of a single hymn, two or three of which are sung at the beginning of the service, and one at the end, ... and this in spite of the fact that the great Wuerttemberg

reformer Brenz and his friend Andreas Osiander, both good Swabians, prepared the excellent Brandenburg-Nuremberg Agenda (1533) on which, essentially, our Kirchenbuch is based." This is accounted for, partly by the natural disposition of the Swabian who cares little for forms, and in religious matters is always suspicious of them as a sign of spiritual deadness; and still more by the history of the compromise between the Swiss Reformed influence and a pure Lutheranism. In Wuerttemberg the Lutheran doctrine was triumphant, but the Reformed usages were fixed in the affections of the people, and are still retained.

"In London, in 1863, I first had the opportunity to hear a liturgical service carefully prepared and well rendered. It was in the German court-chapel . . . the order for Morning Prayer, in the Anglican Church. But I cannot say that this service made any deep impression on me, or contributed specially to my edification. . . . . An entirely different impression was made on me, when I first heard the order of morning service in the large Zion's church. That was something quite new to me, but pleasing and edifying in the highest degree. The freshness and heartiness with which the large congregation united in the responses of the liturgy did me good. There was power and life in it." This service was from the Pennsylvania Agenda of 1855, which had been prepared in great part by the revered Dr. Demme, and for this reason, if there had been no other, was introduced without any opposition in the congregation which was greatly attached to him.

When Muehlenberg and his co-workers founded the Pennsylvania Synod in 1748 a liturgy had already been prepared, which was adopted. All pastors who entered the Synod by ordination or otherwise, signed a pledge to use no other formula. "This first liturgy was in manuscript, of which each pastor made a copy for him-

self, and, with unimportant exceptions, agreed with the best Saxon and North German orders, which were familiar to Muehlenberg in his pastoral work in Germany." In the first printed Agenda of the Pennsylvania Synod, issued 1786, various alterations were made, showing a great falling off from the conservative churchly character of the old manuscript. "Still poorer was the Liturgy of 1818, which scarcely retained a trace of a responsive service, and, especially in the order of Baptism, the Communion and Ordination showed a giving up of the Lutheran confessional position, and an inclination to the Rationalism then prevalent." The hymns were treated even worse. Only one of Luther's hymns is retained in "this wretched Hymnbook." A better choice, however, could not have been made than "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu Dir," if Luther was permitted a voice at all. "Undoubtedly that is what he would have sung, if he could have looked upon this disastrous field, strewn with the broken fragments of the noblest and most beautiful treasures of our hymnology!"

Very gradually the Mother-synod extricated herself from this impoverished liturgical and hymnological condition. The Wollenweber Hymnbook (1849) and the liturgy of 1855 represent the transition period. Dr. Mann justly said that, with all its weaknesses, the old "Muehlenberg" hymnbook of 1786 was much better than the new one. The liturgy of 1855 also, while aiming at a sounder confessional position, and a more historic liturgical form, permitted many abuses, especially in giving more than one form for ministerial acts, even a second form for the communion, with its unionistic words of distribution "Unser Herr Jesus Christus spricht," etc., and in substituting bombastic, oratorical general and festival prayers, for the noble, concise and scriptural language of the ancient Church.

"When the Synod appointed a committee * to translate this liturgy into English, there was such a strong reaction of good taste and riper judgment against the imperfections and faults of the liturgy of 1855, that we may date a new era in the liturgical development of the old Synod, from the English Liturgy of 1860. The Committee had made itself familiar with the later research and work of conservative liturgists in the fatherland, and studied the older sources for themselves. . . . . Out of this book the English Church Book developed, resulting a few years later in the German Kirchenbuch. Were it only for the sake of historical truth, we Germans should never forget that our English brethren were the pioneers in leading us back to the glorious old treasures of the rich order of worship of the sixteenth century, as given to their congregations by our great Reformers."

The Kirchenbuch

At the Convention in Reading, 1866, where Dr. Krauth's Theses on Fundamental Principles of Faith and of Church Polity were discussed and adopted, forming later the basis of the General Council's constitution, a committee was appointed, in which all the synods sending delegates to the Reading Convention were represented, to prepare a German Hymnbook, with special consideration for the work already done by the Synods of Wisconsin and Ohio in this line. The first committee seems to have been unwieldly. Dr. Mann, added to it in 1867 as Chairman and representative of the Pennsylvania Synod, withdrew, fearing that any part taken by the Mother-synod might complicate matters with the

* Drs. C. F. and C. W. Schaeffer, C. F. Welden, G. F. Krotel, and B. M. Schmucker.

publishers of the Wollenweber book. This anomaly could not last long. The Pennsylvania Ministerium had called the General Council into being. Its English Church Book had been adopted by the Council as its own, and had been given to the Committee as the model for the new German book. In 1868 Pastor A. T. Geisenhainer represented the Pennsylvania Synod in the subcommittee appointed to prepare the sample book ordered to be printed by the Chicago Convention, 1869. This sample book, being put together by one man, who was not a member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, hastily and rather ignorantly, even omitting the liturgy which had been included in the plan of the General Council, was not only a complete failure, but involved the Council in heavy debt for some years.

"So the matter stood when, in 1870, I was added to the Committee on the Kirchenbuch. At that time it was composed of five members: Pastor Wenzel, Chairman; A. S., Secretary; S. Fritschel, G. Grossman and A. T. Geisenhainer. . . . . In the years 1871 to 1874 very important additions were made to this Committee, in the following members: G. Vorberg, Dr. B. M. Schmucker, E. Heydler, C. F. Hausmann, J. Endlich, E. F. Moldehnke, W. Wackernagel and Dr. Ruperti, five New Yorkers and three Pennsylvanians. We see how the balance of the Committee is gradually transferred from the West to the East. Dr. Schmucker formed the necessary connecting link between the English Church Book and the German, and through his exact liturgical knowledge rendered most valuable service to the Committee. Also, in the hymnal his judgment was often decisive, not only in accepting a hymn, but in fixing or altering its form. We knew that he had the advantage of an absolutely objective judgment, while all the rest of us, South German or North German, were,

often unconsciously, more or less under the influence of provincial custom and habit.

"From this time on the work of the Committee was done with system and method. The various periods in which hymns were written were assigned to different members. . . . The poets of the eighteenth century fell to me. At that time there was no collection of their works, like Wackernagel's of those of the sixteenth century. . . How much correspondence, book buying and research were often needed, to get the desired information concerning a single hymn, a single poet! And many a time the quest ended after all, with an unanswered note of interrogation!

"The Committee had received orders to conform strictly to the English Church Book. . . . Here and there, on the ground of more careful investigation, suggested departures from this model were accepted by the Council. . . . . For the Evening Service in the Church Book a composite of the old Matins and Vespers had been used, an unhappy mongrel, without any historical authority. The attempt of the Committee to substitute a service conforming more strictly to liturgical tradition was looked upon very coldly by the Council. In 1874 the Committee received permission to prepare an order for evening service, based on the Vespers of the ancient Church. At the next meeting in Bethlehem, 1876, a practical exposition was made to the Council. Pastor Weiskotten had drilled his fine choir in the responses. A special rehearsal of the Psalm was held with the German members of the Council who were able to sing. Pastor Brobst had printed the music. Professor Sigmund Fritschel officiated as liturge, even intoning the service. I made an address explaining this beautiful old order of Vespers. The impression made by this service was such, that next day the resolution was carried without opposition, to adopt the Vespers for

the German Kirchenbuch. Later this decision was extended to cover the Church Book also.*

"In 1877 the Kirchenbuch was so far completed as the Church Book was at that time, *i. e.*, the chief service, Matins and Vespers, Psalms, Collects and Hymns. Now began the work on the Ministerial Acts, for which both the former Committees, English and German, were combined. Most of the material was found, naturally, in the German Agenda of the sixteenth century. From them the first draft of the Ministerial Acts was to be made. This work was entrusted to a sub-committee, to which Drs. Schmucker and Fritschel, and A. S. belonged. Later Dr. H. E. Jacobs was added to it. The remembrance of this joint work, with brethren who were of one heart and one soul, involving the valuation of our old liturgical treasures, and how best to turn them to account, is to this day one of the most delightful recollections of my life.

"Much of the preparatory work was done in the summer vacation at Cape May Point. Dr. Schmucker came down from Pottstown with the great, heavy trunk containing the most valuable treasures of our liturgical library. From the West came our never-to-be-forgotten friend Sigmund Fritschel, and, in our modest seaside home, the work was industriously carried on for weeks. When we were tired of the old folios, and high tide brought the longed-for bathing hour, we dropped everything and hurried to the beach, where we older ones renewed our youth with the boys.

* In a letter written in 1882, Dr. Spaeth says: "In St. Johannis our Vesper Service is taking root among the people as the Hauptgottesdienst never can without the 'Communio' in it. It is always a torso without that, and as soon as the liturgical tact is somewhat developed there is an unconscious feeling of incompleteness about it. In the Vesper Service it is the very reverse. Short as it is, it leaves you satisfied, it is complete."—(A. S. to Hole.)

"The last portion of this work on which Dr. Schmucker was directly engaged, was the order for visiting the sick, and private communion, the Commendation of the dying and the burial service. Only a fortnight before the meeting of the Council in 1888, we read together the Scripture passages, words of benediction and Collects, selecting what we wished to use, ... and more than once he expressed with unusual warmth his satisfaction with this part of our liturgical work. Could he have thought that before many weeks this service would be used for the first time at his own coffin, and over his grave!" (Erinnerungen.)

THE SONNTAGSCHULBUCH

"In 1873, at the request of the Mother-synod of Pennsylvania, the General Council resolved to publish a German Sonntagschulbuch, similar to the English Sunday school Book which had appeared in that year. When the resolution was passed, Dr. Krauth sent me a little note from the President's chair: 'Please suggest names for German Sunday school Book Committee.' I sent him the names which seemed to me most suitable, only men of whom I knew that they had been working in this field, or had been training children in spiritual song: Pastors Hoppe, Frey, Drees and Brobst, then my dear friend John Endlich, an excellent judge of music, and the two most experienced teachers of our Philadelphia parish schools, Messrs. Haas and Schnabel. The President accepted them all as the Committee, of which he named me Chairman. Later we were compelled to ask for additional forces, and the original committee was strengthened by the appointment of Drs. Ruperti, Moldehnke and Schmucker, and Pastor F. W. Weiskotten. . . . . We were about two years at work; we devoted ourselves gladly and zealously to it, and

every one connected with it tried to do his best." They were on the whole unanimous in their decisions. Only one member, having prepared a book of his own, considered the matter ended, and was greatly distressed whenever one of his selections was thrown overboard. The difficulty was that he wished to use only such material as was contained in the average German books, well-known, every-day hymns. "But to me, in those years and on this subject, a new and far wider perspective had opened. I had studied Hommel's 'Geistliches Volkslied,' Zahn's 'Lieder der boehmischen Brueder' and other sources, including Schoeberlein. There, to my astonishment, I had become aware of the unsuspected treasures possessed by our German Christians in this department. And I held myself in duty bound, now, in the preparation of such a selection, not to confine myself to what had heretofore been used, but to offer our eager young singers new treasures, overlooked for centuries, which, I was convinced, would win their hearts more and more, and would develop and cultivate a refined taste in church music and spiritual Folk-song. . . . What precious hours did I spend with my friend Mr. Endlich, the musical editor of the book, in re-setting these old jewels of our Church! How often did we sing and play these captivating melodies together, over and over, late into the night, in bed even!" (Erinnerungen.) In 1875 the Sonntagschulbuch was finished. In order to familiarize our people with it, Dr. Spaeth held a lecture in St. Johannis, in which, after a historical introduction, a number of the hymns were sung in four parts by the choir, or in two and three parts by the school children.*

August 3, 1875. "I may say that the Sonntagschulbuch is essentially my work. . . . For the last two years I have devoted every free moment by day and

* See Chapter X., under Lectures.

night, to this little book, gathering and studying as probably has never before been done for a collection of this kind.—See how I am on the way to indiscrete self-glorification! But surely I may tell *you* between ourselves, what I have been working on, and what fills my heart with joy and pride and satisfaction. I know of course, that our book will not appeal to the average taste of our Sunday schools here. Also the musical arrangement, by my dear friend Mr. Endlich will strike many as having too high a standard for—a Sunday school Book!" (A. S. to Hole.)

May 27, 1878. "The Kirchenbuch is practically finished since last fall. . . . . Now I am busy as colaborer on a Choralbuch which my friend John Endlich is preparing for the Kirchenbuch. So I still have my hands full. Really, no one knows, how, in this country, one is shoved into the work! He takes a little bag, and it becomes a sack. He carries the sack, and soon a dozen are heaped on him. I have sometimes bitterly reproached myself that I have never learned to say 'No!' . . . I often think how ludicrous, to a substantial German pastor and professor, our determination must appear, to dabble in everything, in our own clumsy way! And yet, we bunglers—*do* things! Of our *'Missionsbote'* which we began publishing in January, we now print 8,000 copies; my *'Jugendfreund'* about 24,000. Since last fall about 18,000 copies of our new Kirchenbuch have been sold; of the Sonntagschulbuch about 17,000. I am becoming a real American with my figures, gelt? * But you are interested in these things. I do not boast of them,—you know as well as any one how shy I am!—but only give you for once, a glimpse of the extent of the work in these external matters." (A. S. to Hole.)

* A useful little interjection, only to be translated by some such stiff and ponderous phrase as, Is it not so?

FRIENDS IN SYNOD AND COUNCIL

Dr. Sigmund Fritschel

"My attendance at the meetings of the General Council; my participation in its labors and conflicts; my acquaintance and intercourse with so many eminent men from all parts of the Church—became in the course of years, a real high-school for the growth and ripening in me of sound theological and churchly principles, and for the establishing of my personal standing as a Christian; so that in looking back over these long years I cannot be thankful enough to my Lord for this. With many brethren in the West, particularly from the Iowa and Augustana Synods, I was brought into specially intimate relations. With Dr. Sigmund Fritschel I formed a fast friendship which became the source of richest blessing to me. I first made his acquaintance at the Convention in Pittsburgh (1868) where he appeared as delegate from the Iowa Synod. His rich theological attainments, combined with true humility and modesty, the boundless self-denial in which he served his Church; his firm confessional position, and, above all, his fervent love for his Saviour, made the deepest impression on me. . . . What delightful hours did we spend together, often as guests under the same hospitable roof. One particularly vivid remembrance is of a Sunday evening, during the Chicago Convention (1869) when we, with Dr. C. W. Schaeffer and a number of Iowa pastors, were entertained at supper by a family in the congregation. . . . There I first heard two chorale melodies which won my heart, and have become favorites in my congregation: 'Jerusalem, du hochgebaute Stadt' and 'Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen.' I also became acquainted then with the song of Gerhard von Zezschwitz, 'Ich habe mich oft schon zersonnen, ob

Weinen wohl und Wein zusammen aus Einem Bronnen auf Erden entsprungen sein' which we sang to the melody 'Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten.' Old Dr. Schaeffer was so carried away with it that he attempted the almost impossible feat of translating it into English, though necessarily the delicate play of words in the German 'Weinen und Wein' was lost.

"In the course of years I repeatedly had the pleasure of having Dr. Fritschel as guest in my house, and of hearing him preach in St. Johannis; I also visited him in Mendota and Dubuque, where we discussed the great questions which at that time agitated our church life, especially in the General Council. One such visit is prominent in my recollection, when Dr. Krauth and I were over night in Mendota together, on the trip back from Galesburg (1875). It was like a greeting from my far away home when, as we were deep in conversation, the bell sounded for evening prayer. Everyone was at once silent and stood up, while the house-father folded his hands, and recited in childlike devotion, the well known prayer 'Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesu Christ, weil es nun Abend worden ist.' . . . . Nearly a quarter of a century later, returning from Omaha, where we had held a meeting of the General Conference of Deaconess Houses, I visited the beloved friend in Dubuque. It was our last meeting on earth. The hand of Death was already heavy upon him. . . In the following year, April 26, 1900, after weeks of suffering borne with exemplary patience, he entered into the joy of his Lord."

The Swedish Brethren

"I have always regarded it as an important factor in my personal development and in the widening of my churchly horizon, that I enjoyed the acquaintance, and in some cases the intimate friendship, of the leading

men in the Swedish Lutheran Church in America. Foremost among them was the venerable Father, Dr. Hasselquist, who was for years at the head of the Theological Seminary of the Augustana Synod, and who, in his sound, sober Lutheran conservatism was not surpassed by any of his countrymen. He was a great lover of music, a good singer even in his old age, and endowed with a fine tenor voice. Perhaps his love for church music drew him specially to the young German with such similar tastes, whom he met for the first time in Pittsburgh, 1868.* Many a time he sent me beautiful, churchly compositions by Swedish musicians, some of which I now and then used for my choir in St. Johannis. In 1888 I was his guest in Rock Island, where he had invited me to make an address on Missions to the students. Very close to him in my remembrance, comes Father Erland Carlson, pastor of the largest Swedish congregation in Chicago. . . . In 1869 he had invited the General Council to Chicago, just as the new church was ready for consecration. A few months later the great fire destroyed this stately building as well as the old wooden church, leaving the congregation two heaps of ashes and an enormous debt. . . . Pastor Carlson visited Philadelphia to ask aid for his sorely afflicted congregation. After a Sunday morning service he made his appeal for the Swedish brethren in the faith, to our German St. Johannis. He could not speak German. We could not understand Swedish. He was forced to use English, which he spoke very brokenly, but the seriousness of the case gave him eloquence, and his deep emotion, his unrestrained tears, made him in-

*In 1869, at the convention in Chicago, Professor Hasselquist and Dr. Spaeth with the English Church Book Committee were appointed to select music for the recently published Church Book. Two years later this Committee recommended the Church Book with Music, which was published in 1872.

telligible to everyone, and the congregation responded with a collection of more than $260.

"At the beautiful festival in Rock Island in 1893 we were room-mates as guests in Dr. Olson's house. Dr. Olson was Dr. Hasselquist's successor in the Seminary at Rock Island, but was an entirely different personality, not only in his natural gifts and characteristics, but also in his religious and theological position. A man of irresistible charm, and universally popular, he well represented the emotional, impulsive temperament of the Swedes, who have often been called the Frenchmen of the North. Endowed with a wonderful gift as orator, he could carry with him the thousands of his audience, laughing or crying at his will. But at the same time he was not entirely free from a leaning to fanaticism. . . . Once, after a somewhat excited speech at the General Council, he said to me as he left the pulpit: 'I know that my dear Brother Spaeth considers me an ecclesiastical anarchist!' 'No,' said I, 'not that; but I honestly think that it would be well if my good Brother Olson laid rather more stress on the divinely appointed means of grace, the Word and the Sacraments.'"

Bishop von Scheele

"Of all the Swedish friends, however, none came quite so close as Bishop von Scheele. My cordial relations with him have been one of the greatest pleasures of my old days. I met him again and again when he visited America, he was twice a guest under my roof, and at the meeting of the International Lutheran Conference in Rostock we spent delightful hours with each other." After the General Council in Lima, Ohio, in 1901, Dr. Spaeth writes: "A specially notable feature was the appearance of my dear friend Bishop von Scheele of Sweden. He had been in America eight years ago, and

takes the warmest interest in our whole Lutheran Church here, not alone in the Swedish branch. During his visit in Philadelphia he was again our guest,* and we came to an agreement that we would make the attempt to bring to Philadelphia one of the next conventions of the General Lutheran Conference, if possible that of the year 1907. He is to work for it on the other side of the ocean, and I on this. That is still far off, and who knows where we shall both be, when the time comes. But since 1887, when I attended the Conference in Hamburg, and discussed the same point with Luthardt, I have cherished a secret hope of getting the Lutherans of the old world, in their prominent representatives, to come over to us once, and so to bring them into living contact with our position and our work. Bishop von Scheele, whose name is also well known in the German theological world, especially through his 'Symbolik' is just made for the pioneer's work in such an international convention. He is an unusually magnetic personality, with wide outlook and a warm heart, while his diplomatic cleverness and aristocratic distinction are glorified and sanctified by an inner, vital Christianity. Thanks to his efforts especially, King Oscar, his intimate friend, invited the Conference last year to Lund, and so brought it for the first time over the narrow borders of its German home. We both, however, look upon Lund as a station on the way to Philadelphia." (A. S. to E. W.)

* In Mt. Airy, where a reception to Bishop and Lady von Scheele had been arranged by the Lutheran Social Union. The distinguished guests were greeted with great enthusiasm, and showed a warm appreciation of the courtesy extended to them. In the morning Dr. Spaeth had met them on their arrival in Philadelphia, and taken them to Old Swedes' Church and Independence Hall. Later they lunched at Dr. Laird's house. Next morning Dr. Spaeth accompanied them to New York, and so secured two hours of quiet conversation with the Bishop, which were devoted to the Allgemeine Konferenz.

At Rostock they met for the last time. Here the friends seem to have still cherished the hope of an Allgemeine Konferenz in Philadelphia, but a few years later Dr. Spaeth writes in the Erinnerungen: "With my friend Bishop von Scheele I had endeavored for some years to encourage the international tendency in the General Conference, in order, if possible, to secure a meeting in America, where a strong committee had been formed for the furtherance of this project, and considerable sums had already been subscribed toward the same end. But the lamentable dissensions which had recently broken out within the Conference, *i. e.*, among its German members, had made it impossible to carry out the plan. . . . For my own part, I have given up this noble aim; and yet it seems to me so necessary and important that those who mean faithfully and honestly by our Lutheran Confession, in the old and new world, should remain in living contact with one another, and should work together in real harmony. . . . Perhaps a later generation may live to see an international assembly of confessional Lutherans on American soil . . . and may yet harvest the fruit from seed sown by us, in this field."

Dr. Mann

Among his associates in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania as well as in that of New York, it is scarcely possible even to mention all whom Dr. Spaeth counted as personal friends. Here and there names stand out, of those with whom he labored, and whose sympathy and approval he particularly valued. Many of these names are given in connection with the details of his varied activities. Naturally the name of Dr. William Julius Mann is most prominent among them. Pastor Spaeth began his work in America under the guidance

of his senior in Zion's; they were colleagues for many years in the Seminary; they worked together in Synod and Council, and suffered together the slings and arrows of outrageous demagogues. While they held similar views in many respects they were not, by any means, always of one mind; but they faced the situation and remained friends.

Dr. Spaeth's work "Erinnerungsblaetter," a Memorial to Dr. Mann in his own words, with here and there a few sentences of necessary explanation or comment, gives in detail the story of Dr. Mann's opposition to the Kirchenbuch, and his official recommendation of Wollenweber, which threatened for a time to alienate them. Dr. Mann admitted the value of the new Hymnal as an "excellent anthology of spiritual songs." Dr. Spaeth thought that Dr. Mann's modern tendency rendered him unable to grasp the idea, that worshipers in our time can find in the forms of the sixteenth century and the pre-Reformation era, fit expression for their devotions. "Painful as it was for the friends that on this point their views differed, there were yet times when the enthusiastic champion of the Old had the satisfaction of hearing from Dr. Mann's lips the warmest testimony for that which seemed to him most fitting and beautiful in the service of the sanctuary. None of us will ever forget his resolutions at the meeting of the General Council in Philadelphia in 1885, in which he so highly commended the Choral-Vesper which had been arranged by his friend.* And how often, in St.

* These resolutions were, in part: Resolved, 1. That in the Choral Service to which this body was invited last evening, we realized the beauty of ancient and especially Lutheran Church Music, and acknowledged it as a convincing proof that in this direction also, the Lutheran Church needs not to go out of the galaxy of ancient talent granted her, and the musical treasures entrusted to her, for the edification of her congregations and families.

Johannis church, where the ancient liturgical forms, and the old melodies were used in their entirety, especially for festival services, did he press the hand of his friend saying with deep emotion: 'That was a glorious Service!' . . . . His final verdict on the Kirchenbuch is found in his Biography of the Patriarch Muehlenberg, when he comes to speak of Muehlenberg's hymnological work, especially of his Hymnbook of 1786. There he says in plain terms: 'Muehlenberg was too conservative a Churchman to deprive Lutherans of hymns to which tradition and habit had attached them, and which strenuously echoed the Lutheran faith. In this respect this hymnbook, the largest part of which Muehlenberg compiled, and which was published by Synod in 1786, is much superior to the one edited under synodical authority in 1849,* but does not attain to the merits of the *Kirchenbuch* edited by the General Council of the Lutheran Church in America, and representing the highest standard of liturgical and hymnological theory.' "

Dr. C. W. Schaeffer

In August, 1864, very soon after Pastor Spaeth's arrival, Dr. Mann had taken him out to Germantown and introduced him to Dr. C. W. Schaeffer. "The friendly reception given me by this eminent man, a true Christian gentleman in the best sense of the word, the comfortable study of the American Doctor in which even the familiar whiff of tobacco was not lacking, gave me at once a delightful feeling of being quite at home.

2. That our thanks are therefore sincerely offered to the President of this body, Rev. Dr. A. Spaeth, for his unceasing and deservedly successful efforts to give us a Choral Service, no less full of instruction and encouragement than of sacred emotion and holy pleasure.

* Wollenweber.

For more than thirty years I was permitted to enjoy his cordial friendship. Many a time did he assist me at the communion in St. Johannis, and afterwards take his place at my table. In 1873 we were installed together in Zion's as Professors in the Seminary, and for twenty-three years worked together in undisturbed harmony, until his death in 1896." A few months before his death the writer was present when Dr. Schaeffer committed to Dr. Spaeth an earnest message of greeting and encouragement for the Fathers and Brethren of Synod, to be delivered at the great Jubilee meeting in 1917. "I shall not be there,—but you may be."

ANNIVERSARIES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

In 1893 the General Council met in Trinity church, Fort Wayne, Ind. On Monday evening, October 9th, special services were held in commemoration of the organization of the Council in the same church twenty-six years before. There was a large congregation. Five addresses were made. Dr. Spaeth's theme was: The Influence of the General Council on the Lutheran Church. On the same evening he wrote: "Our improvised Jubilee was a great success. Everyone agreed that all the five addresses were good, and the audience was evidently deeply interested and moved by the whole service. I had the closing address, and took my text from your father's last words to the Council: 'The General Council has borne rich fruit for the glory of God and the future of our Church.'" (A. S. to H. R. S.)

In the President's Report, in 1905, allusion was made to the rapidity with which the list of Founders of the General Council was being depleted. Of the five men who issued the Call in 1866, Dr. Krotel alone survived.*

* Dr. Krotel died early in 1907.

Of the Pennsylvania delegation to the convention he and Dr. Laird; of Ohio, Rev. G. W. Mechling, and of Pittsburgh, Rev. H. W. Roth survived, and of the second convention in 1868 Dr. J. Fry and Dr. Spaeth alone were left. The proposition was made to celebrate the fortieth anniversary while a few of these venerable Fathers could still be present, instead of waiting until the half century was completed. A Committee was appointed to prepare a plan for the proper celebration of this anniversary at the next convention. In 1907, at Buffalo, the Committee reported with a program for two evenings, *Retrospect* and *Prospect*. On Thursday Dr. Laird was the first speaker: Early Conventions of the General Council and the Fathers. Rev. G. W. Mechlin: The Hand of Providence in the Formation of the General Council. Friday evening, Rev. H. W. Roth, D.D.: The General Council in Works of Missions and Mercy. Dr. Spaeth: The General Council and Lutheran Doctrine. Other addresses were made on both evenings by younger men. On the following Sunday a German celebration was held in St. John's church, at which Dr. Spaeth spoke on the Purpose of the General Council.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEMINARY IN KROPP

1883-1888 (1908)

Es gehoert zum Dienst dass wir hie und da erlauben muessen dass Jemand seine Schuhe an uns abputze.
(*A. S. to Hole.*)

"In the many years of my life in America, nothing has caused me so much unhappiness as the development of the German Mission work, and, in close connection with it, the question of training German pastors for our German congregations in America. The conflict which grew out of this question fell mostly in those years in the last century, during which I was President of the General Council, 1880 to 1888. In giving this subject a place in my Reminiscences, I have no desire to tear open old wounds, or to dig up the buried hatchet, but, on the contrary, to pave the way for a real and permanent understanding for which at last the time seems to have come." This was written in 1908, just before the meeting of a General Conference of German pastors in the General Council, which would have to deal with questions concerning Kropp. Dr. Spaeth considered it most necessary to this end, that all the facts should be brought together now, simply and objectively, leaving out, as far as possible, purely personal features.

THE HOME MISSION WORK

"In the call for the Convention in Reading (1866) which resulted in the formation of the General Council, attention was drawn to the conditions which our Church

faces in this country; millions of souls which belong to us, spread over an ever increasing territory; the continual growth of immigration, the pressing need of pastors, the meagre provision made for this crying need, etc. The General Council, in the first Article of its Constitution recognizes the necessity of foreign and home mission work.*

"At the second convention in Pittsburgh, 1868, a Committee appointed the year before, brought in a detailed report on Home Missions, and a comprehensive plan for carrying on the work, which would need at least $10,000 in the coming year. Neither then nor later did the Committee succeed in getting together more than a small fraction of this sum; at the same time its activity was almost confined to the English field, where considerable sums were expended in efforts to found English missions in large cities like Chicago, while the great German mission field, where half the sum would have had appreciable results, was permitted to lie fallow. It is not surprising that this condition of things was very unsatisfactory to the Germans in the General Council. So it went on until the year 1881, when, at last, in the meeting at Rochester, N. Y., the proposition came from the Home Mission Committee itself to divide the whole work according to language, and to carry it on in future by separate committees, English, Swedish and German.

"The German Mission Committee which now came into existence for the first time, was authorized to take into consideration whether an alliance with some educational institution in Europe, or the founding of a new

* In the Erinnerungen the Article is cited. The editor has abridged this account of the Kropp trouble here and there, but it is essentially a quotation, and is therefore given as such. The original can be found in the *Kirchenbote,* August and September, 1908, Nos. 50-53 of the Erinnerungen.

institution in this country, or even a distinct department in some already existing school here, seemed necessary and desirable to meet the special needs of the Church in this sphere. No one can doubt for a moment that the new departure was an important step in the right direction. The first year that the plan was in operation the German and English Committees brought together $10,000, and the Swedes another $8,000.

"It is obvious that the Home Mission work of the General Council is founded on work among the immigrants from Lutheran countries. Without this the English work would have no foothold. Neglect of these immigrants cannot be made good in the generations born here. But in order to labor successfully among immigrants, we must have men who not only speak their language correctly and fluently, but who know their whole spirit, their nature, their customs, their views, and can have a fellow-feeling with them. Such laborers must be trained for their respective fields.

"From the beginning, as we have seen, the attention of the German Mission Committee had been called to the preparation of German candidates for the ministry, as inseparable from their work. The Committee undertook the task with great enthusiasm, and developed a zeal and an energy deserving highest recognition. The monthly *Siloah* was founded. A Call to the Church in Germany was sent out, which awakened a general interest for the Germans in America, and was reprinted in the *Christenbote* and the Stuttgart *Sonntagsblatt.* But then appeared the 'Amerikanische Reisebilder' of the Wuerttemberg Professor Dr. J. G. Pfleiderer, warning the moderate Lutheran Christians of Wuerttemberg against this appeal, and reproaching the 'rich Americans' of the General Council and of the Pennsylvania Synod, who 'ought to be ashamed of themselves' to go a-begging

in Germany for the support of German Lutheran Missions in America!

"Through its Secretary the German Home Mission Committee of the General Council turned then to me with the request to take up my pen in defence of our Church, and in the cause of truth. I did so, in a pamphlet which appeared in 1882, 'Amerikanische Beleuchtung der Amerikanischen Reisebilder des Herrn Professor Dr. J. G. Pfleiderer.' It was written with special regard to Wuerttemberg readers, and was scattered all over 'Schwabenland' by the committee of the General Council. In it I said: 'Just at this moment it can be less than ever a matter of indifference to us, what they think of us in the old Fatherland, and what sort of picture of the American Lutheran Church is placed before a meeting of the Stuttgart Prediger Conferenz, by a so-called eye-witness, and afterwards printed and spread abroad throughout Christian Germany. Just now the relations between us and the old home are stronger and closer than ever. On both sides we begin to realize the greatness of the task which God has set us to do, in that He is directing an ever growing stream of tens of thousands of our fellow-believers to the shores of this new world. On both sides hundreds of noble pious hearts are warming toward this vast work. And already, everywhere, faithful diligent hands are reaching out to take hold of it, and, across the wide ocean, to labor together in one spirit and one love.'

"The first annual report, presented by the German Home Mission Committee to the General Council in Lancaster, Ohio, in 1882, showed from beginning to end how systematically and energetically the committee had gone to work, and the very considerable success which had attended their efforts. An interest had been awakened and maintained in the congregations by the publication of the *Siloah,* which, within the first year,

had more than 7,000 subscribers. Candidates for the ministry had been received from various points in Germany, from Pastor Jensen's institution, as well as from Hermannsburg and Neusalz. Sixteen young men were under the oversight of the Committee, and had been placed in various institutions or with pastors to finish their theological training. Pastor Jensen crossed the ocean in order to come to an understanding with us over this important matter. He was my guest, in my house and in the pulpit of my St. Johannis church, and was an agreeable and deeply religious man, but with a strong leaning to Pietism.

"Not long after Pastor Jensen's visit, Pastor Paulsen from Kropp also came to Philadelphia for the first time. He too was my guest, and I was convinced by what I saw and heard, that with him the preparation of young theologians for the service of the American Church of the General Council, would be in better hands than with Jensen. I had no hesitation in recommending him and the institution he had founded in Kropp. The special committee to which the report concerning the German Home Mission work had been referred, recommended to the Council, after careful deliberation, the institution of Pastor Johannes Paulsen in Kropp, Schleswig, as above all others the best adapted to our needs. They further advised the Council to desist for the present from erecting a new pro-seminary, for which we had not the means, or from any attempt to arrange for a special department in an existing institution. All of which, after mature deliberation and discussion was unanimously adopted. It was still further resolved, on motion of Dr. Passavant, that the Home Mission Committee during the coming year should weigh the question whether the special need of the Church demanded the erection of a new institution in our land, or the

establishment of a special department in an existing institution."

KROPP AND THE GENERAL COUNCIL

"In the following year, 1883, the Committee reported that the proposed arrangement with Pastor Paulsen had been made. In March, 1882, a Seminary had been opened in which young pastors were to be trained for America. The course of instruction included the usual branches of theology. Pastor Paulsen wrote that owing to lack of room and of means they could receive only a few pupils. 'We rejoice greatly over the connection with the esteemed brethren of the General Council . . . . with whom, as far as doctrine is concerned, we stand on the same ground. . . . May it please God so to bless our alliance that His Church and His kingdom may be benefitted by it.' In the same year, 1883, by the efforts of Pastor A. Richter, a preparatory institution was begun, Wagner College, which the Committee rather welcomed than disapproved. It was intended to be a pro-seminary in which pious and gifted young men from our congregations would have opportunity to prepare for the service of the Lord, and to preach Christ in German and English. Six years later Wagner College was taken over by the New York Ministerium.

"From 1883 on, 'our institution in Kropp' appeared regularly in the report of the German Home Mission Committee, and the entries for support of the students and for salaries of the professors were included in its treasurer's account. In 1885 Pastor Paulsen issued a call to the brethren in America . . . in which he proposed the erection of a new seminary, to cost $10,000. For this he asked help from America. It had been found impossible to keep up an active interest among Germans in the seminary, in addition to the great de-

mands of their own Foreign and Home Missions. Moreover, it was thought by Christians there that the Americans were able to provide for the work which, in the end, was for their benefit. In response to this hint the sum of about $20,000 was brought together in the five years from 1882 to 1887 for the seminary in Kropp.

"These facts, which are mostly taken from the official Minutes of the General Council, show indisputably that the German Home Mission Committee, with the knowledge of the General Council, and by its direct order, entered into connection with the institution of Pastor Paulsen in Kropp. It had also—which seems to me of special importance—from the beginning clearly reported to the Council the character of that institution, namely, that although a preparatory school was connected with it, it was really not a pro-seminary, but a theological institution, in which all branches of theology were taught, and the pupils were to be fully prepared for the ministerial office. Further, we must take into consideration that all resolutions passed by the Committee and regularly reported to the General Council, were approved by it and formally adopted. . . . If mistakes were made it was the General Council that made them; and that, when better informed, was obliged to remedy them.

"In the meeting at Greenville, Pa., 1887, the same year in which I was sent as delegate to the General Lutheran Conference, the General Council, after discussing the report of the Committee on its relation to the institution in Kropp, passed resolutions thanking Pastor Paulsen for his personal devotion and his great sacrifice in training young men for our work. In consideration of the further fact that so far no agreement had been reached between him and us, it was resolved that the Trustees of the General Council, the German Home Mission Committee and the Professors of the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia be empowered to treat

with Pastor Paulsen in regard to the relations of the General Council to his institutions in Kropp. The agreement reached by this Committee and Pastor Paulsen, should go into operation provisionally for the current year, subject later to such changes as the General Council, at its next meeting, might see fit to propose."

KROPP AND PHILADELPHIA

"Meanwhile, in January, 1887, a lively correspondence had been carried on between Pastor Paulsen and the German professors of the Philadelphia Seminary as to whether, and how, it would be possible to have the pupils of the Kropp Seminary spend a final year in Philadelphia, and so receive a practical, specific training for their office as American pastors. Pastor Paulsen seemed to approve of this plan entirely. 'If our pupils are to work with the Philadelphians there must be no rivalry. . . . We must above all aim at a firmer alliance, that we may hold fast and attain the one end, the growth of the General Council. . . . As long as I have anything to say, Kropp will work in closest connection with Philadelphia, and subordinate to it. The Seminary in Philadelphia must take the lead.'

"When the result of this correspondence was reported at a Faculty meeting, February 10, 1887, Drs. Mann and Spaeth were appointed a committee to work out a plan by which a suitable course for such post-graduate students could be arranged, and to correspond with Pastor Paulsen in regard to it. . . . The Faculty had been asked by Synod to consider the question of extending the German instruction in the Seminary, and to recommend to the Board such additions to the teaching force as they deemed necessary. After carefully weighing the matter, and in view of the fact that the German was already increasingly used as the medium

of instruction, with good results, the Faculty reported to the Board that no additional teachers were needed. . . . With the increase of German students the German language would take a more prominent position. For this and other reasons, the Faculty officially recommended that provision be made by which the students from Kropp should spend the last year of their course in Philadelphia. Whereupon the Directors of the Seminary recommended to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that it should propose to the General Council to take steps for such an arrangement, with the proviso that it should have the consent of the Seminary Directors, the General Council and the Kropp institution. The Synod of Pennsylvania agreed to this proposition, and appropriated $1,000 annually toward the support of such students as should spend the last year of their course in the Philadelphia Seminary.

"So far all was harmonious. The threatening clouds which were gathering over our Church, dispersed before our eyes, and we had every hope for the future. This whole plan was not made simply with regard to the Germans in the Pennsylvania Synod, nor merely to strengthen the German element in the Philadelphia Seminary, but in the full conviction, in which our oldest and most experienced men were all of one mind, that some such measure was indispensably necessary to prevent, in time, the threatened division in our Church. In the last few years we had experienced that, in spite of the fine training received there, many of the young pastors from Kropp found it difficult to accommodate themselves to conditions here; and that there was danger of estrangement and dissension between them and other pastors of our American Church, especially those trained in the Philadelphia Seminary. It was the opinion of many intelligent men, pastors and laymen, besides the professors in the Seminary, that one finishing year with

us would make them better acquainted with our land and people, and would conduce to mutual understanding with pastors born and bred in America, with whom they first came in contact as students. It was my hope especially, that such a regular influx of German blood and German education in our Seminary would act as leaven, and as a stimulus to our American students.

"The difficulties with which we had to contend in our German mission and educational work, and the honest wish to preserve a good understanding between Philadelphia and Kropp, led me to consider it very desirable that a trustworthy person should go over to get an idea, on the spot, of the character of the institution in Kropp and, at the same time, by personal acquaintance with the teachers and directors there, to establish a relation of mutual confidence. For this a fine opportunity was offered when, in the fall of 1887 the General Lutheran Conference was to meet in Hamburg, and one of its prominent members, my friend Dr. Ruperti, formerly President of the Conference, urged me if possible, to visit the Convention, and so promote the good understanding which from the beginning had existed between the Allgemeine Konferenz and the General Council."

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

About the same time that the General Council was founded, as an honest effort to unite all true Lutherans in America on the basis of the Confessions, the General Conference, Allgemeine Lutherische Konferenz, was called into being in Germany, especially to defend and unite the Lutheran Church against the Unionism of the Prussian State Church which, after the political reorganization of Germany in 1866, threatened her existence. That our General Council should feel the most cordial

interest in this movement in the old country, was to be taken for granted. At the second convention, in Pittsburgh (1868), a committee was appointed, to express to the General Conference, in the name of the Council, the warmest sympathy in its fight against Unionism. In June, 1870, Dr. A. Harless, President of the Conference, replied with assurances of the same interest and sympathy on the part of the Conference, in our problems in America. "In the Chicago convention, 1869, Dr. Krauth was appointed delegate to the General Conference at the meeting in Leipzig, 1870, and Dr. Sigmund Fritschel was commissioned to represent the interests of our General Council at the same meeting. Dr. Krauth could not go, but Professor Fritschel discharged his mission admirably, and gave the General Conference a full account of the position of our Church in America.

"In my President's report, Greenville, 1887, I recommended that the Council should take notice of the impending convention in Hamburg, as we had been in fraternal relation with the General Conference from the beginning, and because the interests of the Lutheran Emigrant Mission made an agreement between the two bodies highly desirable on practical grounds. I proposed, either to send a fraternal greeting again, or to elect a delegate to Hamburg. In the latter case, the Hamburg-American Line had offered free transportation to such a delegate. The result of this suggestion was that the President of the General Council himself was appointed delegate to the Hamburg Conference."

This was on the thirteenth of September, on the eleventh of October the convention was to take place in Hamburg. Arrangements were quickly made for leave of absence from St. Johannis, and for his work in the Seminary, and on the twenty-fourth of September Dr. Spaeth left New York on the steamer "Rugia," landing

on October 6th in Hamburg. He was received very kindly by the Emigrant Missionary, and invited to lodge with Herr Valentine Lorenz Meyer, in whose house he had been entertained during a previous visit to Hamburg. "It was quite an agreeable surprise to be greeted on all sides as a well known and expected guest, in Hamburg where I believed myself an entire stranger. Having a few days at my disposal before the Conference opened, I used them for a visit to Kropp, which, in recent years, had begun to send us well educated young men for the service of the American Church. I was greatly disappointed to learn in Hamburg, that Pastor Paulsen the founder and head of the institution in Kropp, had just left for America.* . . At the very hour in which he landed in New York I entered the hospitable parsonage in Kropp, where I was most kindly received and entertained by Mrs. Paulsen. Next morning I visited the institutions and was present in several classes. At 10 o'clock the students were dismissed for the fall vacation, after a short closing service, with singing and prayer, and an address by Pastor Pfaff. . . . On Sunday morning I attended service in the Kropp church, where a clergyman of the Schleswig State Church preached. With Pastor Pfaff, who seemed to take Director Paulsen's place in the institution, I conferred over the details of the Seminary and its relations to the General Council and to our Seminary in Philadelphia. I left on Sunday afternoon."

THE CONVENTION IN HAMBURG

After two days with Dr. Rüperti in Eutin, Dr. Spaeth and he left for Hamburg, where the Conference was to

*It was always Dr. Spaeth's opinion that a personal interview at that point, between him and Pastor Paulsen might have prevented much mischief.

assemble the same evening. The arrangements for the convention were on the grandest scale. The large Sagebiehl establishment was rented for the Conference; the largest of its roomy halls held easily 4,000 persons. The bureau of registration was in this building, together with everything that could be thought of, for the comfort and convenience of the members. Clever young fellows from the various Young Men's Societies of Hamburg served as adjutants, ready with any assistance needed, especially by strangers.

At the informal supper and the reception afterwards, Dr. Spaeth met many distinguished men, some with whom he was already acquainted, some with whom he had corresponded for years, others whom he knew only by name. Dr. Kreussler, the chief pastor of St. Peter's church welcomed the Conference in the name of the Hamburg Local Committee, referring to many prominent figures in the Church History of Hamburg, such as Bugenhagen, Neumeister and even the much calumniated Pastor Goetze. Dr. Kliefoth, President of the Conference replied. The opening service next morning, October 12th, in St. Peter's, drew together a congregation of 3,000 worshipers. From the Introit on, the order was exactly that of our Kirchenbuch. The sermon, by Pastor Becker, of Kiel, treated of the glory of the Lutheran Church in her humility. After the service the first regular meeting of the Conference was opened by Dr. Kliefoth. Dr. Luthardt followed with a paper on the position of the Lutheran Church with respect to the progress of the Roman Catholic Church. On the second morning the order of the day was changed so that the Delegate of the General Council could present his greeting at once.

"I spoke from a warm heart, full to overflowing; under the deep impression of the significance of this hour, when I could tell my fellow-believers in my Ger-

man home something of the task, the work and growth, the conflicts and difficulties of our Lutheran Church in America. 'Send us your young men,' I said in conclusion, 'we will make something out of them; not Professors and Doctors in the German sense, but practical, self-denying, energetic pastors! And above all, think of us, love us. The Church on the other side is worthy of a place in your heart.' The address made a profound impression. Kliefoth replied in deep emotion, his voice often choked with tears. . . . That hour remains in my memory as one of the greatest in my life, and I thank God that an understanding of the position of our General Council, and the goodwill of the Conference toward us and our work was quickened, nourished and strengthened by my words."

THE KROPP WAR

This closing paragraph in Dr. Spaeth's Hamburg address was made the pretext of the first personal attack on him by the *Kropper Kirchlicher Anzeiger.* While he was still in Esslingen a copy of this paper was sent to him, demanding a public reply to the question why, in asking the Conference to send us young men to America, it had not occurred to him that the Seminary in Kropp is engaged in that very work. Three alternatives are suggested by the *Anzeiger:* Was it lack of goodwill toward Kropp? Or opposition to that Seminary? Or, was it connected with plans to degrade Kropp to a pro-seminary for the Seminary in Philadelphia? The open answer was very simple. There had been no intentional slight to Kropp. The Hamburg address was in great part unpremeditated. Other important points were also left untouched. Dr. Spaeth had taken the trouble to go to Kropp, and would gladly have spoken *there* of his interest in the institution but no

opportunity was given him. Hamburg was not the place for it. He referred to the difficulties which had actually arisen in the American Church, and which it was proposed to obviate by giving the Kropp students one year in our Seminary. There was no question of "degrading" any institution, but only how our Lutheran Church in America could best be served.

"Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, October 14, 1887, an important discussion of the subject had taken place between Pastor Paulsen and the representatives of the General Council, but without any final result. On Dr. Mann's motion it was resolved that if Pastor Paulsen found among his students those who, in the opinion of the Kropp faculty, would gain anything by coming to the Philadelphia Seminary and afterwards be of service to us, he should send them over. In another resolution the obligation of the Council to Kropp was recognized. Finally, on motion of Pastor Haas, the matter was put in the hands of a sub-committee who were to report at a meeting to be called by the President of the General Council. This Committee was Dr. Mann, representing the Faculty; Drs. Seiss and Spaeth, Trustees; Pastor Wischan and Mr. F. Bauer of the German Home Mission Committee. By the time, however, that the Joint Committee came together again, on February 17, 1888, things had taken such a course that all the resolutions passed in October were rescinded, and the General Council was recommended to break off all connection with Kropp."

The discussion of October 14, 1887, had been followed three days later by a meeting in Zion's, of clerical and lay friends of Kropp, including Pastor Paulsen. Mr. Karl Klenk, President of St. Johannis Vestry, was in the chair. A constitution had been prepared by Pastor J. Heck * which was unanimously adopted, and

* Called by Pastor Paulsen the real founder of the Verein.

under this the Kropper Missions Hilfs-Verein was organized on the spot. Membership was secured by paying fifty cents quarterly, four times in succession. It ceased automatically when the member was in arrears at the close of the fiscal year. Branch associations were to be recognized wherever twenty members were secured. The General Council was not mentioned. The Kropp Directors were to report every six months to the central committee of the new Verein; candidates from Kropp were to report immediately on their arrival in America to the same committee; and it was made the duty of such candidates, wherever they were, to keep in touch with the committee, and to bestir themselves in founding branches of the Kropp Hilfs-Verein! * Kropp cancels its obligations to the Verein whenever the latter has failed for two years to send at least $300 annually. Over against this very modest expectation, the introduction laments that compared with the needs of Kropp, all that has *so far* been contributed has been only a small fraction of what it deserved (actually not more than an average of $4,000 per annum since 1882!) and, that in this matter there has been *great negligence!* In January, 1888, appeared the first number of the official organ of the Verein, not even wearing the semblance of an angel of light; the February number was still worse.

At the meeting in February of the Joint Committee, consisting of the Trustees of the General Council, the members of the German Home Mission Committee, and the Faculty of the Seminary only two members were missing. "After full discussion of the subject the Committee voted almost unanimously that it was not desirable for the General Council to keep up any official, legal or organic relation with the theological Seminary

* Original punctuation.

in Kropp. Messrs. Wischan, Kuendig, Hinterleitner and Bendel voted against the resolution." In an article on the "General Council's Commission on Kropp" written on the day of its meeting, Dr. Jacobs gives the opinion expressed by prominent men in the Commission. Dr. Seiss approved of our welcoming *individuals* coming to us from any institution in Germany, godly men, properly prepared, and ready to work in our spirit. But the introduction here by wholesale, of an element that has so much to learn, is of itself an evil. Dr. Spaeth called attention to the great care exercised here in choosing professors for our Seminary; in Kropp Pastor Paulsen calls the professors, and they are responsible to him alone. We may learn from the Scandinavians, from Iowa, from Missouri, all of whom have had more experience in home mission work than our Church in the East; they proclaim with one voice that it is altogether impracticable to train theological students in Europe for service in America. Dr. Mann urged forgiveness and conciliation. Dr. Jacobs said: the Commission had nothing to do with personal feeling on either side; it had received from the General Council a trust, which it is to administer in the fear of God. The sentiment of the Church is clear. It will justly condemn us if we yield our convictions from motives which are commendable in a private relation, but should not be heeded in an official one. The only way to peace is, clearly, frankly, openly, unmistakeably and promptly, to cut off all connection with Kropp. The article goes on: We believe that the significance of the Conference consisted rather in the opinions which were freely expressed than in any direct action taken. The action is only what everyone must have anticipated for months. But the feeling which prevailed gave unmistakable evidence, that at the proper time and place, whatever action is still needed further to carry out the spirit of the

resolution, will have the vigorous support of those who defined their position at the Conference.

"The storm reached its climax in the end of 1887 and the beginning of the following year. In the *Kropper Kirchl. Anzeiger* and in a number of epistles and declarations sent out to pastors in America and Germany, a flood of incredible abuse was poured out over men and institutions held, up to that time, in highest honor and esteem in our Church. Not only the German professors of the Philadelphia Seminary, but also the English Dean of that institution, Dr. Nicum in Rochester, Dr. Ruperti in Germany, the Seminary of the Iowa Synod in Dubuque were the objects of unheard-of accusations, mostly personal and entirely groundless. . . . . From all sides here and in Germany, came protests against this unprecedented mode of warfare. The Vestry of Zion's and that of St. Johannis published resolutions in defence of their pastors, and energetically repelled the attack on them, as 'partly entirely false, partly founded on malicious misrepresentation of facts, and ignorance of conditions here.' The Alumni of the Philadelphia Seminary, and, at their suggestion, the First District Conference of the Ministerium did the same. Even the German Home Mission Committee passed a decided protest, which was entered on the minutes, but not published. . . The recommendation of the Joint Committee came before the General Council at its next session, Minneapolis, 1888, and the connection with Kropp came to an end. . . . The Council took no notice directly of the malignant personal attacks with which the conflict had been carried on. But for its much calumniated President, who retired now after eight years' service, it passed a hearty unanimous vote of confidence; the men whom it held more or less responsible were excluded from further leadership in the German Home Mission work, and the Committee was so recon-

structed as to draw all its lay members from Rochester and towns in that vicinity." In a letter of September 18, 1888, Dr. Spaeth writes: "The Kropp matter was up, and I made a long address confining myself solely to the principles of our Mission and educational work underlying the whole business. I am charged with the drawing up of the resolutions which are to contain the final action and position of the General Council in this matter."

All through the history of the Kropp trouble as given in Dr. Spaeth's Erinnerungen, he passed very lightly over the purely personal aspect of it. He prepared for the Archives of the Seminary a "Red Book" containing most of the articles written, and some private letters concerning Kropp. But not even there has he alluded to the infamous publication in which the worst attacks appeared, except as it republished Mr. Paulsen's articles. In the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, where alone the power of discipline could be exercised, the subject came up at Lancaster, 1888. The President's Report alluded to it in impersonal terms as a matter demanding immediate and radical action. This report was read in English. "Upon request the concluding portion of it was read in German likewise." (Minutes.) The Committee on the President's Report, Dr. Jacobs, Chairman, recommended that the men responsible for this offensive publication be required "to make retraction and reparation for such articles, as full and public as they have been given circulation." This was adopted by a vote of 158 to 20, eleven members being excused from voting. At this meeting in Lancaster, when the Synod was ready to consider severe measures, Dr. Spaeth asked to have the proceedings against his enemies stopped. He had made peace with the nominal editor of their official organ, and was satisfied.

At the next meeting of the Ministerium in Lebanon,

1889, the President reported that the demand of Synod had not been complied with; and that other articles even more offensive, had appeared in the journal referred to. An effort made to bring about a reconciliation between the brethren concerned, by an interview and correspondence with the President, had also failed. The First Conference had urged a committee of investigation, and the President recommended this course. Such a committee of five clergymen was appointed, two were selected by each side in the controversy, and these four chose the fifth. All of them were satisfactory to the principals concerned. In the President's Report at Bethlehem, 1890, the announcement was made that the work of this committee had been completed, and the hope was expressed "that the long desired end of this unpleasant affair had been reached at last."

AFTER TWENTY YEARS

We have given the history of Kropp, its connection with the General Council, and all the evils that grew out of it. But in the course of time the dismounted cannon rusts, the wild flowers nestle at its mouth, the grass covers the field that was once drenched with blood. "The Seminary in Kropp has not ceased to exist. In spite of severe financial stress, by the united, energetic work of its friends and pupils on both sides of the ocean, it has not merely been kept alive, but has constantly sent its graduates to our American Church, mostly to the General Council. While the official connection of the Council with the institution has never been renewed, candidates from Kropp have been received by Synods belonging to the Council without hesitation. . . . Much that was blighted twenty years ago, has been restored and healed by the faithful and successful labor of Kropp brethren in all of our Synods."

About the time that Dr. Spaeth closed the Erinnerungen with these and similar words, Pastor Paulsen wrote to him from Kropp: "Honored Herr Professor; I am very anxious that everything that has stood between us may be cleared away, before the Lord calls me. I hoped to go to America this fall, and would have sought you out then. My journey is doubtful. I am tired to death with the great number of Mission festivals. This would not hinder me, but several brethren write that the time is not propitious for me to come to America.

"I am now fully sixty-one years old, and would not like to leave anyone behind me, whom I have angered. So I beg you to forgive everything by which I have injured you. This earnest declaration has nothing to do with the discussion concerning the Seminary. The American brethren must decide the matter as they think best for the General Council. I shall not mix in with this question. I only wish for peace with those who hold the same precious faith with us. I wish nothing to come between them and me. . . . I should be glad, honored Herr Professor, if you would preach a festival sermon here, some time. You will always be most heartily welcomed by us.

"With fraternal greetings, yours most truly

"Johannes Paulsen.

"Kropp, August 28, 1908."

CHAPTER IX

THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL

(1880) 1884-1910

> Then said *Christian* to the Porter, Sir, what House is this? The Porter answered, This House was built by the Lord of the Hill, and He built it for the relief and security of Pilgrims. . . . . And they appointed *Piety* and *Prudence* and *Charity* to discourse with him. . . . . Late at night after they had committed themselves to their Lord for protection, they betook themselves to rest: the Pilgrim they laid in a large upper chamber, whose window opened toward the sun-rising; the name of the chamber was Peace. . . . . On the morrow he got up to go forward. . . . . Well, said *Christian*, good Porter, the Lord be with thee, and add to all thy blessings much increase, for the kindness that thou hast shewed to me.—*John Bunyan.*

December 2, 1880. "A few weeks ago, at the suggestion of the German Consul, I was elected a member of the Board of the German Hospital. Consul Meyer, the German, and Consul Westergaard the Scandinavian Consul (a faithful member of our Lutheran Church), as well as several other well-meaning gentlemen of the Board have a plan for gradually removing the unchurchly element from the direction of the hospital, and bringing the whole work under the control of the Lutheran Church. My election is one step toward this object. How far the attempt will succeed the future must show." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

At the time when Dr. Spaeth's connection with the German hospital began, Mr. Lankenau had been Presi-

dent of its Board for twelve years. In 1850 and again in 1853, unsuccessful attempts had been made to found a hospital. In 1860 it was at last incorporated, and in 1861 Pennbrook, at Twentieth and Norris Streets, was purchased. Just as the building was ready for occupancy it was taken by the Government for a military hospital, and only toward the end of 1866 the original Board took possession again, and opened the German Hospital with room for fifty patients. In 1868 Mr. Lankenau was elected President; in 1872 the Board purchased the property opposite Girard College, and in 1874 considerably enlarged the building. The Legislature made an appropriation of $20,000, and the first free beds were established.

"There is no doubt that the personality of Mr. Lankenau won for the hospital more and more, the public esteem and sympathy which, so far, it had not enjoyed. But now he wished to take a step in advance, and to bring the Hospital into closer connection with the Church, though he well knew that from the majority of the Board he could not count on much sympathy in this direction. In later years he told me how this suggestion had first come to him from his brother-in-law, Mr. Drexel, a Roman Catholic. Surely a wonderful leading of Providence, that this hint was eventually to result in the founding of our Deaconess Motherhouse!

"Toward the end of 1880 Consul Charles H. Meyer called on me to ask me, in Mr. Lankenau's name, to accept a position on the Hospital Board. Mr. Lankenau had announced his intention of doing great things for the Hospital, but only on condition that a relation of mutual confidence between it and the Church could be established, so that they could work together. The election of a Lutheran pastor in the Board was to pave the way for this, and I was to be that pastor. The application had first been made to Dr. Mann as Senior

of our German Lutheran pastors. He had declined the invitation, knowing well the spirit which, so far, had ruled in the hospital, and having no great hope that a real harmony between the Church and the institution could be established.

"To me also this proposition was equally unexpected and astonishing. In my work as pastor I had already had all sorts of curious experiences in the German Hospital. When I had been called to minister to the sick or dying the door had been shut in my face, with the curt command: 'Come again at visiting hour!' When I spoke quite openly to the Consul of my scruples he assured me that such things would not happen again, if Mr. Lankenau carried out his plan. The more I thought about it the greater seemed the responsibility of rejecting the proffered hand of the noble-minded President. After some consideration, and consultation with Dr. Mann, I accepted the invitation and entered the Board in 1881.

"During the first two years of my connection with the Hospital Board the changes in the Charter desired by Mr. Lankenau, were made. The number of members was reduced to sixteen, their term of service being extended to eight years; and the inclusion in the Board of three Lutheran pastors belonging to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was secured. I had the privilege of proposing the two colleagues who, with me, were to represent the Church. They were Dr. Mann and Pastor Wischan, who were both unanimously elected. Now for the first time we began to hear something of *Deaconesses,* who might possibly solve the endless perplexities of the Hospital in obtaining proper nurses. Mr. Lankenau and the Consul made several vain attempts in Kaiserswerth and elsewhere, to persuade the Motherhouses to spare us a number of Sisters, but were everywhere refused. In 1883 Consul Meyer, being in

Hamburg, learned from Pastor Ninck of an independent Deaconess association in the hospital at Iserlohn, having their own Oberin, Sister Marie Krueger, who might be inclined to accept our invitation. Correspondence was soon begun, and on the nineteenth of June, 1884, seven Sisters landed in Jersey City, ready to begin work in the German Hospital.

"The builders were still in possession of the new south wing; the late house-master and his wife were not yet gone, and regarded with unfriendly eyes the Sisters who came to supplant them; the Trustees did not understand the situation; the Doctors were not at all inclined to recognize in the Sisters the well-trained and self-sacrificing Deaconesses, who carried on their work of love for God's sake, and not for filthy lucre.*

"The worst of it was, that so many petty hindrances were laid in the way of the Sisters by the house authorities, as to make their work exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The result was that in a short time they were so totally discouraged, that they thought seriously of returning to Germany; and once, if I have not been misinformed, had even packed their trunks! They were at that time regular members of St. Johannis, and had their own pew. Coming to church one Sunday evening they heard me preach, in a course on the Acts of the Apostles, from the verses, chapter 16: 9, ff., Paul's vision: 'Come over into Macedonia and help us.' Whether I made any direct reference to the Deaconess work in America I do not now recall. But the Sisters themselves made this application. They left the church in silence. At last one of them said: 'I think we'll unpack our trunks!' The others agreed, and the Sisters stayed.

*Most of these details are quoted in the Erinnerungen from the account written by Consul Meyer, and deposited in the corner-stone of our Motherhouse.

"Mr. Lankenau had long had in mind the founding of a Home for aged and friendless Germans. As early as 1878 he and his daughter had planned the details of this institution, which was to be a memorial to the late Mrs. Lankenau, Mary Johanna Drexel. For this purpose Mr. Lankenau had purchased land adjoining the German Hospital, and in the altered Charter a clause was inserted giving the control of the new institution to the Board of the Hospital. But now the Deaconesses were here. It was evident that if this work were to be established and to continue among us, steps must be taken as soon as possible for founding a Motherhouse where probationers could be trained, and where aged Sisters, no longer able to work, could find a home. The Diaconate is in its nature an institution of the Church, and as the new charter had already provided for a closer relation between the hospital and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, there was no question that the proposed Motherhouse must stand in organic connection with the Lutheran Church. When Mr. Lankenau was ready to build the long projected Home I urged him to provide, in the new building, the necessary rooms for a Motherhouse. Our first Oberin, Marie Krueger, made the very valuable suggestion that space should be reserved also for a Children's Hospital, which would relieve the German Hospital, and provide a fine training school for the probationers. . . . . After much consultation a separate Board * for the Home and Motherhouse was made possible by a change in the Charter, and the Hospital leased the necessary ground for 999 years, at a nominal rent. . . . .

* In February, 1885, a standing Deaconess Committee had been named by Mr. Lankenau, which met regularly every month, and had charge of the interests of the Sisters. This Committee included Mr. Lankenau, Consul Meyer, and Drs. Mann and Spaeth. When the Charter was adopted, October 20, 1887, the gentlemen of the Deaconess Committee, with the addition of Pastor Grahn, formed the new corporation.

"Although, in the course of events, I had been placed in a more or less leading position in our Deaconess affairs, I myself knew only too well how little real experience and practical knowledge I possessed, and how often my friends and I were obliged to feel our way in the dark. . . . . It seemed absolutely necessary to a reliable judgment in these matters, that I should visit the most important Deaconess Houses in Germany. To this end I undertook the journey in 1886, visiting in order, Kaiserswerth, Bielefeld, Hannover, Altona, Neudettelsau and Stuttgart. Everywhere I was received most kindly, and was given every opportunity to acquire minutest information about the principles and methods of the Deaconess work in Germany. In Kaiserswerth I had a special mission in clearing the way for the necessary recognition of our institution by German Deaconess Houses. Our Oberin had formerly been a Kaiserswerth Sister, and had left her Motherhouse. The result was a rather cool attitude toward the sisterhood assembled by her, and later brought over to Philadelphia. . . . For fully two hours I discussed this matter with Disselhof, Fliedner's successor in Kaiserswerth, pleading for Philadelphia, and trying to convince him of the far reaching importance of our work in America. At last Disselhof promised that the irregular action of a single Sister should not be a hindrance, when the question came up of a formal recognition, and a friendly co-operation between Kaiserswerth and Philadelphia. Before long our Motherhouse was received into the General Conference of Deaconess Houses, which meets every three years in Kaiserswerth.*

* In 1888 our Motherhouse was invited to take part in the Conference as a guest, "provided that its rules and regulations should be found in accordance with the principles recognized by the General Conference." In 1894 it was admitted as a regular member of the Conference.

"I gathered my most direct information on the subject in the Henriettenstift in Hannover. At that time the late Dr. Buettner was still Rector there, and no one could have been kinder than he was to his American guest. . . . He knew that I had come to learn, so, settling himself comfortably in his chair, he said to me: 'Now, catechise me!' I did so, keeping my note-book ready, like a reporter, and making one entry after another. What particularly appealed to me there was the sober and yet deep, sound, Lutheran spirit in which the work in the Henriettenstift was conducted. . . . In Neudettelsau I found much of Loehe's love for America and our Church here in his successor, Rector Meyer; also a readiness to help us practically by lending us Sisters, such as I found nowhere else, except perhaps in von Bodelschwingh at Bielefeld. We wished to obtain a teacher for our probationers (Probemeisterin) from Neudettelsau for a term of years, and Rector Meyer had selected one, but the state of her health forbade her coming to America."

The following details, more personal than those given in the Erinnerungen, are taken from letters to Mrs. Spaeth. On the twenty-ninth of May Dr. Spaeth sailed on the Rhynland for Antwerp, landing Thursday, June 10th. "I notified Consul Meyer in Cologne of my arrival in Antwerp, and was very warmly received. He had seen the Empress Augusta in Baden-Baden, and, in a special audience, had had the privilege of laying before her a full statement of our Philadelphia efforts in behalf of the Deaconess cause. She was very kind and promised her further interest and assistance. . . .

"At noon I left Cologne for Duesseldorf, taking the steamer there at 3 P. M. Forty minutes later we stopped at the quiet little town of Kaiserswerth, which lies close to the Rhine. Pastor Disselhof was out of town for the day, but Sister Mina, the Sister Superior,

a daughter of the venerable Fliedner received me very kindly, and after some conversation went herself to fetch one of the older sisters to show me through the labyrinth of the different institutions. My guide happened to be Sister Marie Mewes, for whom Frau Oberin had given me special greetings. She was very pleasant, and very thorough in pointing out everything, answering every question and entering fully into those points on which I was particularly anxious to obtain full information. The rooms, the furniture, the whole equipment of all these institutions,—everything,—is exceedingly simple, almost primitive; hardly above the style of a good substantial peasant's house, but scrupulously clean and well kept. I was most astonished at the compactness, even closeness of the different buildings, which must all be more or less crowded. . . . But this is not written as an accusation against the institutions themselves. They are another living illustration of that wonderful pluck and thrift through which German piety has done such great things in Hermannsburg, Neuen Dettelsau and other places. Among the Sisters I saw many good and strong faces, especially among the older ones, but there is also no lack of such as seem to me, with my short experience, most unpromising."

Whitsunday, June 13, 1886. "I was wakened this morning by the strains of 'O du froehliche, o du selige, gnadenbringende Pfingsten-Zeit' coming on the wings of the morning breezes from the near-by institutions. A few minutes before nine a son of Pastor Disselhof came to take me to church. The liturgy is that of the Unirte Agenda. The singing was a disappointment to me, neither spirited nor strong, but rather dragging and weak. The sermon of Pastor Disselhof was good, but we got only the first part of it. With the second he did what the pastor of St. Johannis not unfrequently

does with his second or third parts. He condensed it in a few sentences.

"After the sermon Sister Mina took me through the Paul Gerhardt Stift, a home for women in three different classes, three different prices being paid *per annum.* This is one of the latest additions to the cluster of Kaiserswerth institutions, and, in its new wing, certainly the most comfortable and homelike of all the buildings I have thus far visited. The walls are adorned with inscriptions taken from Paul Gerhardt's most beautiful hymns. A very pretty garden, with winding paths and cozy arbors among the rich shrubbery, adds much to the beauty and comfort of this institution. From the Paul Gerhardt Stift we went to the Magdalen Asylum, and on our way saw the old garden-house in which Fliedner began the work in 1833, and which has just been bought by the contributions of the sisters themselves, to be given to the institution as a lasting memorial. It will be adorned with a bust of Fliedner, and thus be kept in future as the real, historical, monumental place from which this vast work has grown.

"After dinner I walked out about half a mile, to the Johannisberg where, in my opinion, the future of all the Kaiserswerth institutions will be. Ample ground has already been secured, covering about sixty acres. Some beautiful buildings have been constructed, roomy, airy, comfortable in every point; it is a real New Kaiserswerth on the highest elevation, without the great inconvenience and danger which always threaten the old institutions whenever Father Rhine rises above his banks. I was kindly received by Rev. George Fliedner in his manse on the hill, and had coffee with him and his family. . . . I had the great pleasure of meeting the two deaconesses stationed at Rome, now at home on leave of absence. One of them was a daughter of Professor Quenstedt of Tuebingen, a warm friend of

our family, who exclaimed in delight: 'Surely you cannot be Adolph Spaeth from Esslingen?' Another pleasant discovery was that Frau Pastor Fliedner turned out to be the grand-daughter of my dear and venerable friend Dr. Mallet of Bremen, and remembered the verses which I had written twenty-three years ago, during our meeting in Lichtenthal, Baden-Baden.

"At five o'clock I attended service, and heard a very earnest, devout and spiritual sermon by old Pastor Stricker. Then I had the pleasure of taking supper with Pastor Disselhof whom thus far I had not met personally. I spent a most profitable evening with him, though he was a little stiff and reserved at the beginning; but he thawed gradually, and when we took a quiet Sunday evening walk through the beautiful gardens adjoining the parsonage, and extending the whole length of the north side of the old town wall, met here and there by groups of sisters and young female teachers, I found him quite open and pleasant, and hope that I have been much benefitted by our conversation."

June 16, 1886. "My pen is not able to do justice to the truly wonderful things I have seen in my visit to Bielefeld. Pastor von Bodelschwingh is certainly the greatest genius in the line of philanthropic enterprise and organization the world has ever seen. He has devoted himself to taking charge of, and caring kindly for the most miserable of miserables, the poor epileptic sufferers, down to the most hopeless idiots. Fearful scenes, sickening to the eye of a newcomer; terrible interruptions during the services in the sanctuary, in the dining rooms, in the workshops; and everywhere couches set in every available corner to receive those who have an attack,—and yet, withal, a spirit of heavenly peace and love smiling from the faces of these faithful workers and reflecting itself in the grateful countenances of those wretched ones, who cling with childlike trust

and touching affection to their benefactors. O what a power the Gospel is! I was walking as one who is in a land of miracles, the tears constantly welling up into my eyes and my heart overflowing with the one thought: 'Der Herr hilft den Elenden herrlich!' *

"Over seven hundred sufferers of every description have found refuge in this Paradise, cut out of the forest of Teutoberg, where Arminius once destroyed the legions of Varus. A beautiful church in the midst of the woods, on a terrace which has been cleared of trees so as to allow just one little glimpse of the world below, has room for sixteen hundred people. I attended service there on Pfingstmontag evening, and enjoyed our own Vespers, with the Psalm sung in the fifth tone, intoned by deaconesses from the organ. I was amused at the manner in which I was first received by the 'Herr Baron' as the people of Bielefeld call that true nobleman, Pastor von Bodelschwingh. He was certainly very kind and good to me at the very beginning, but I could not help feeling that to him and his excellent fellow laborers I was at first nothing but the 'American.' I had to work my way up into their full confidence and hearty understanding. And I think I won it. When I parted from him yesterday noon, he came down with me to the omnibus and kissed me as we said good-bye.

"At Dr. Buettner's in the Henrietten-Stift (Hannover) I found letters. . . . Pastor Buettner was very kind to me. He represents to my mind the sound, sober, thoroughly churchly and truly Lutheran type of the Diaconate. I learned a great deal from him, and consider his work the most substantial of all I have thus

* Psalm 149: 4. The English translation is not so expressive here as Luther's version, though undoubtedly closer to the original. Dr. Spaeth would not have quoted "He will beautify the meek with salvation," when he meant "He helpeth the wretched gloriously!"

far seen. His Oberin, too, is the very ideal of an intelligent, refined, sweet, Christian, motherly lady. Happy the sisters that are trained under her; happy the pastor that works with her!" In Altona he had Pastor Schaeffer all to himself for five hours. "Our talk covered every branch and aspect of the great work, and was most profitable for me. From Altona I went to the Rauhe Haus, where I met the present Director, a son of the sainted Wichern, and was shown through the whole institution."

Eisenach, June 19, 1886. "Here I was much disappointed in finding that the excellent Deaconess-Pastor Schubert is absent over Sunday. I spent some time in conversation with his venerable mother, and was shown through the neat Diaconissen-Stift by one of the Sisters. It is close to the Nicolai-Gate, and was formerly a convent. The position of Pastor Schubert in Eisenach is a very peculiar one. He was sent there simply as the pastor of the Deaconess Station which is in connection with the Henrietten-Stift. But as the preachers of Eisenach at the present time are tinged with rationalism the evangelical Christians of the place soon rallied around him, and finally he was even recognized by the church authorities and made pastor of the Stifts-Kirche."

June 21, 1886. "I had a very pleasant day in Neu Dettelsau, apart from the weather which was perfectly horrible, a cold, penetrating rain pouring down day and night. Early in the morning I went through all the institutions with Rector Meyer, and in the afternoon had a long conference with him. I found him much more approachable than any other leading man I have thus far seen. At 6 P. M. I attended Vespers in the Chapel, a most beautiful and impressive service; the intonation both in singing and reading on the part of the Sisters is the most perfect thing in this line I ever heard. After Vespers I spent the evening with In-

spector Deinzer, talking chiefly American church-politics and controversies, until 10 P. M."

Esslingen, July 1, 1886. "I recently gave a very thorough inspection to the hospital which is under my brother's direction, and which he attends with the assistance of two deaconesses. He speaks in the highest terms of their usefulness and reliability in everything. One has charge of the household, the other of the nursing." During his stay in Esslingen he also held a Bibelstunde with these faithful Sisters.

Esslingen, July 8, 1886. "Yesterday I visited the Deaconess House in Stuttgart, where I had a long conversation with the Inspector, Rev. Mr. Hoffmann, who received me most kindly and gave me profitable information on many points. I find that the Stuttgart Deaconess House labors under the great disadvantage of getting its sisters only from the lower classes of servant girls. However admirable their training is,—my brother performs the most difficult and complicated operations only with the assistance of his Sisters,—it is a great pity that there should be no accessions from the more educated classes."

November 11, 1886, the corner-stone of the handsome Deaconess House and Mary J. Drexel Home was laid. The building is fire-proof throughout. A beautiful chapel is in the centre; the west wing contains the Children's Hospital and the Old People's Home; in the east wing are the commodious quarters for the Sisters, administration rooms, and an interesting collection of Drexel-Lankenau portraits, and articles associated with the two families. For the ceremony of the corner-stone laying a platform had been erected for the Sisters, numbering about twenty at that time. Several of them wore medals for meritorious service in the field hospitals during the Franco-Prussian War. The Oberin wore also the Iron Cross, the highest decoration conferred

by Prussia on a woman. The principal German address was made by Dr. Spaeth. His theme was: What is this house that is here erected, to be? "It is to be *a stately building,* which can stand comparison with the marble columns and entablatures of a Girard College, an honor to the German name in this city; it is to be a building *dedicated to the memory of a noble woman,* whose life was devoted to charitable deeds, and whose name this house will bear; it is to be *a home* where Germans of good character are to receive faithful care, in their old age, without regard to their religious faith; and it is to be a *Deaconess Motherhouse,* where Sisters can be trained, and where they can find a home for life. For the care of the old people and of the children, for whom a hospital will also be opened, the nursing of the sick in the German Hospital, are all to be in the hands of Deaconesses. And, under the blessing of God, Deaconesses shall go out from this house, far and wide over our great country, to serve all those who need the care of a pious woman's heart, and the ministry of a tender woman's hand. . . . The hospital, as such, has no religious or confessional character, either among its patients or in its Board. But the Deaconess institution is of the Evangelical Lutheran Confession. Its whole prosperity depends on the determination, sincerity and fidelity with which a heartfelt faith is nurtured, as the motive power in all service of love and mercy. Take that away, and you take away the heart of the Diaconate and give it over to certain death. Therefore is the Chapel the centre of this building. A *house of God* it is, that we build here, as a sign and testimony that the Founder of this institution, whom we delight in honoring as our Deaconess-father, does not wish to build in the air, but on the good solid foundation of evangelical faith, besides which none other can be laid; and which alone has given our German Fatherland its thou-

sands of devoted and untiring Deaconesses." These ideas had already become familiar to our Philadelphia Lutherans.* Their significance here lies in the fact that the first draft of this address had been submitted to Mr. Lankenau, and had received his unqualified approval.

During the first years Dr. Spaeth was the Pastor of the Sisters; every Friday evening he held a Bible class in their dining room in the hospital. Most of the correspondence in the matter of gaining new Sisters was in his hands, as well as the decision on the acceptance of applicants. In the instruction of the probationers he was aided by a few of our Philadelphia pastors. The greatest difficulty was in procuring even fairly satisfactory assistants in the work of the Sisters. Dr. Schaeffer of Altona wrote: "See that you get out of the hospital, or you will never have a Motherhouse!" That was easier said than done. On the fourth of January, 1887, the first formal consecration of a probationer took place. At the same service two Sisters from Germany were received into our community. Not one of them belongs to our Motherhouse today.

In November, 1887, the first Oberin died. Sister Wilhelmine was acting Oberin for six months, and Dr. Spaeth was appointed to hold weekly conferences with the older Sisters. At the same time Consul Meyer was in correspondence with Pastor Disselhof regarding a new Oberin. Wanda von Oertzen's name was prominently before the Board, but Dr. Spaeth at first opposed her nomination because she had never had any regular

*On the 12th of January, 1885, Dr. Spaeth had lectured in Zion's on Phebe the Deaconess, for the purpose of introducing the work of the Sisters to our Philadelphia people, and stirring up a real love for it, and interest in it. This lecture was published in German and English, and widely disseminated. Copies of it, in both languages, were placed in the corner-stone.

training in a recognized German Motherhouse. Only after receiving very high testimony as to her character and ability did he withdraw his protest against calling her. "I can be perfectly open about this, because with Wanda von Oertzen herself I never made any secret of my doubts. And in the frankness which was characteristic of her, she said to me more than once: 'I lack training as a deaconess!' What she had, and what made her an important, perhaps indispensable force, in the history of our house at that time, was the excellent schooling in sick-nursing which she had enjoyed under Esmarch, and which enabled her to take a position in the hospital which impressed even our Doctors. She reached Philadelphia on the twenty-fifth of May, 1888, and was formally installed by me on the eighteenth of June, as Oberin of our Deaconess House." *

"About the same time a weighty matter was decided, by appointing a regular Deaconess Pastor, who could devote all his time and strength to this work. From the time we began to build the Motherhouse I used every opportunity to impress on Mr. Lankenau the necessity of such an office. . . . From the first our good President was not at all ready for this step. He thought that so far I had acted as Pastor to the Sisters in addition to my regular work, and this might go on, with occasional help from other pastors. At last, however, he allowed himself to be persuaded that the future of the Diaconate absolutely required the appointment of a house-pastor (Rector), and in the first regular meeting of the newly constituted Board of Trustees, February 18, 1888, I had the pleasure of recommending to my

* Dr. Spaeth had practical evidence of Frau Oberin's skill and kindness, when, in the fall of 1888 he fractured his left arm. For some time after the splint was removed the Oberin herself applied massage every day, and then taught Mrs. Spaeth the simpler rudiments of the art, so that the treatment could be continued at home.

colleagues, for this office, Pastor August Cordes. I had made his personal acquaintance the year before, in Germany. He had been the assistant of Pastor Ninck, had married a former deaconess,* and was, in every respect, eminently qualified for the position. He accepted the call . . . . and at the dedication of the new Motherhouse, December 6, 1888, was installed by me. Dr. Mann had delivered the festival sermon, Dr. Seiss made an English address. For the installation the text was chosen: Joshua 21: 45. There failed not aught of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass."

Naturally the Pastor of St. Johannis and the Rector of the Deaconess House, having many common tastes and interests, were thrown much together, and intimate relations were soon established between their families. July 29, 1889, was the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. Spaeth's arrival in America. Very early in the morning Rector Cordes, with a choir of Sisters gained access to the yard of St. Johannis' parsonage, and sang Loehe's hymn: O Gottes Sohn; to which Dr. Spaeth had composed the melody a few years before. In the evening there was a festival supper at the Deaconess House, with speeches by Rector Cordes and the guest of honor. But the celebration ended abruptly and tragically. Mr. and Mrs. Cordes were called from the table to their little Gottfried, taken suddenly with convulsions. He died that night.

One most important result of the appointment of Mr. Cordes as Rector was the founding of the school for girls in 1890. From the beginning Dr. Spaeth taught regularly two hours every week, for a number of years, except during the winter 1891-92, when he was in

* Mrs. Cordes had been a personal friend of Dr. Spaeth's sister, Mrs. Pfatteicher, and she first made the suggestion to him, of Mr. Cordes' fitness for the position to which he was eventually called.

Capri. His department in the first year was general and Church history. Later he gave instruction in Church doctrine and hymnology. In September, 1899, when the enlarged corps of efficient teachers, Sisters and others, made his services no longer necessary, he resigned this work.

In July, 1890, Dr. Spaeth was sent by our Motherhouse as delegate to the Inter-denominational Conference for the Diaconate, held in Chautauqua. It was the first, possibly the last meeting of this kind; at least it was the only one to which our institution sent a delegate. Dr. Spaeth prepared a paper, of course in English, on Deaconesses and the Sick, which was published later. His half amused interest in Chautauqua as "absolutely characteristic of America" was stronger than his sympathy for the doings of the conference. Originally a Methodist camp-meeting ground, beautifully situated on Lake Chautauqua, the land came into the possession of a private association, which founded there a sort of summer academy. For six weeks in July and August lectures and courses of instruction on every possible subject are given by prominent speakers and professors. "When the seminaries and colleges close, those who are athirst for knowledge hasten thither, in order, among the shadowy woods and on the shores of the lovely lake, to be 'coached' in any department of knowledge, and to gallop through it with the greatest possible rapidity. In six weeks one masters all the difficulties of the German, Latin, Greek or Hebrew language; one becomes at home in any field of literature, history or art. It is a World's Fair of everything worth knowing, from Christian Ethics and the Old Testament prophets down to wood-carving, photography and cooking!"

Among the speakers at the Inter-denominational Deaconess Conference were several ladies. Miss Bancroft was perhaps the most important of them. She

had been in our Motherhouse and was well acquainted with the whole subject, and although Dr. Spaeth could not always agree with her, he considered her one of the ablest advocates of the Diaconate in English circles. With Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer he was less in sympathy. She represented the Methodist view of the Deaconess as above all an Evangelist, a preacher of the Word; and not, as the New Testament regards her, a woman consecrated to works of beneficence. "My meeting with Bishop Thoburn of India and his sister Miss Thoburn has been of special interest and value to me at this time, when we are on the eve of starting our Zenana work among the Telegus. On Thursday morning I met, by special invitation, with the Methodist Conference in the interest of the Deaconess cause. They were considering their Constitution, and I hope that through my influence, some important features were modified. At 10.30 there was another public meeting in the Philosophic Hall, where I had to hold forth, in company with Miss Bancroft and Bishop Thoburn on the platform, and to answer questions that poured in from all sides. This was an interesting, and, I trust, instructive meeting. But as a real inter-denominational convention, I am ready to say, the thing was a failure, though Chautauqua was a neutral, and in many respects, a very well selected ground for such a meeting." (A. S. to H. R. S.) In these discussions Dr. Spaeth had ample opportunity to show the principles on which our work rests, and to tell the assembly what had proved itself sound and worth following in this matter . . . . "and was reminded once more of the old saying at Marburg: Ye have a spirit different from ours!"

In February, 1896, a formal invitation was sent out by the Philadelphia Motherhouse to all the Lutheran Deaconess houses in our land, to unite in forming a General Conference of Lutheran Deaconess Houses in

America, whose object should be agreement on all essential principles of the Deaconess work, leaving each house free in the management of its internal affairs. The first meeting was held September 16th to 18th in Philadelphia, after which the Conference assembled biennially, each Motherhouse being represented by its Pastor, Oberin and one member of its Board. In the discussion of papers read at its meetings the Conference found, to its great satisfaction, that all the houses were of one mind on the fundamental principles. Pastor Goedel wrote of the first meeting: "Without an election, as a matter of course, Dr. A. Spaeth, the truest friend of the Deaconesses, the one who knows most about the subject, was named as Chairman, and we who took part felt it a special grace of God, that such a leader was vouchsafed to us." Dr. Spaeth continued to hold this office at all the subsequent meetings of the Conference. He was re-elected at the eighth convention in Omaha, Neb., just four days before his death.

In Pastor Cordes Dr. Spaeth had found a most congenial friend, and deep was his regret when, in 1892, the Rector felt himself compelled to lay down his office. He was succeeded by Pastor Carl Goedel who was installed by Dr. Spaeth July 8, 1893. In 1904 Pastor Goedel resigned, but consented to remain two years longer on account of difficulty in securing a successor. He finally sailed for Germany in June, 1906, and at the anniversary of the Motherhouse in October of that year, the installation of Rev. E. F. Bachmann took place. Dr. Spaeth preached, and installed the new Pastor.

November 14, 1897, Frau Oberin Wanda von Oertzen died in Bethanien, Berlin, and in January Sister Emilie Schwarz was installed as her successor, by Pastor Goedel. Dr. Spaeth made the address and emphasized the fact that for the first time the Oberin was elected as she should be—from the ranks of the deaconesses, nomi-

nated by the Board, and ratified by the Sisters. Sister Emilie resigned in 1901, and was succeeded by Sister Magdalene Steinmann. In 1908 she returned to Germany, and Sister Wilhelmine Dittmann was appointed as temporary Oberin. She showed, however, such admirable fitness for the position, that she was unanimously nominated by the Board, and just as unanimously elected by the Sisters, as Oberin, and installed on Easter Sunday, 1909.

In 1885 the Sisters had been invited, in strictly apostolic style, two by two, to spend a short time in Dr. Spaeth's cottage at Cape May Point. The result of their nearer acquaintance with the Point was first the renting of a cottage there for the summer, and then the building of the commodious Lankenau Villa in 1890. Not only were the Sisters Mr. Lankenau's guests there, but a most open handed hospitality was practiced toward our clergymen and others, and every summer, during Dr. Spaeth's vacation, cottage services, with the full liturgy, were held by him in the parlors of the villa. In the summer of 1901 (August 30th) Mr. Lankenau died. Dr. Spaeth conducted the funeral services in the house, and preached in English in the chapel of the Mary J. Drexel Home, from the text Gen. 12: 1, 2,: "And I will bless thee . . . . and thou shalt be a blessing."

At a Fliedner Memorial Service in January, 1900, which had been planned by the Philadelphia German Pastoral Conference in connection with the Motherhouse, and which was held in St. Johannis, addresses were made by Pastor Goedel and Dr. Spaeth. The latter used as his theme Fliedner's motto: He must increase, but I must decrease. He referred to his lecture on Phebe the Deaconess, delivered fifteen years before in Zion's, when the Sisters had just arrived from Iserlohn. At that time he could speak of five thousand sisters. Since then the number has increased nearly

threefold. "In our own Motherhouse the growth has been much larger in proportion, in spite of the difficulties with which we have had to contend,—six sisters then, seventy-one now."

The estimate placed upon Dr. Spaeth by his fellow workers in the Deaconess cause is thus summed up in their report to Synod in 1911: "From the very inception of the Deaconess work in Philadelphia his influence, more than that of any other man, moulded its character and guided its course. His broad theological training, combined with a comprehensive grasp of the questions involved in practical problems, together with his inspiring enthusiasm, made him the welcome counsellor of Mr. John D. Lankenau, the founder of our institution, and his tactful insistence on all that is essential to the spirit and life of a truly Lutheran Motherhouse, has placed us and the Church under lasting obligation to him."

CHAPTER X

IN THE CHURCH AT LARGE

1864-1910

> America, thou art a glorious country! If a man does not learn usefully to employ his time and rationally to spend his life in this land of a great present and a miraculous future, he is lost to virtue. But true it is, that whoever will not be active in this country, might as well be off the stage.—*Dr. W. J. Mann.*

After the early troubles with the choir in St. Johannis, there came a period under Mr. Schnabel's administration, and for a number of years after his death, when Dr. Spaeth was able to carry out his ideas of church music not only without opposition, but with the intelligent and enthusiastic co-operation of his singers. All of them were members of the congregation, most of them had received good musical training in the parish school, they were regular in their attendance at rehearsal, and were never dismayed by any difficulties, though comparatively few of them read music at sight. "For St. Johannis and our Doctor!" was the slogan that carried them triumphantly over all obstacles.

THE CHORAL VESPER

"In order to open the ears of those outside of our congregation to the richness and fulness of our church music, I arranged from time to time a so-called 'Choral Vesper.' One cannot call it a church concert. It was always planned as a full evening service, with one central thought or theme; for example, the Church Year, the

Apostles' Creed, Easter, the Glory of the Lord (Advent to Epiphany.) The choir occupied the lower platform of the chancel. One of my clerical brethren officiated as liturge; for accompanying the chorales, the organ was supplemented by a brass quartette. The choir sang under my direction. Such Choral Vespers were repeatedly given for special occasions, at meetings of Conference in St. Johannis, for our Silver Jubilee, and before the first Convocation of church musicians.

"The most successful of these Choral Vespers was that given in 1885 in the Church of the Holy Communion, Broad and Arch Streets, in connection with the meeting of the General Council.* We had brought together a strong choir of 250 voices from our German congregations, a double quartette of the best English soloists, and, for intoning the very ancient *Dies irae,* a number of powerful male voices from the German singing societies, all under the direction of Pastor Nidecker. Mr. Wallbaum, the organist of the church, presided at the organ with full understanding of the entire program.† The members of the General Council sat in the Chancel. Dr. Laird was liturge, and read the Scripture lessons. The congregation, about 1500 strong, filled every portion of the church. The theme was the Church Year. The impression made by this Vesper service was overwhelming. My dear friend Dr. Mann, who, as is well known, did not always agree with me in liturgical and church-musical

* This was the eighteenth convention, and was held in St. Johannis. The full service of the Kirchenbuch was used, "with such a musical flavor as is to be expected in this congregation, and very seldom in any other." (Local Reporter.) The church was decorated with flags of Lutheran nationalities, with plants and flowers, and in the background the figures of the Worms Monument, which had done good service in 1883, were again set up for the meeting of Council.

† His father had been pastor of the German court chapel in London, where A. S. heard a liturgical service for the first time.

matters, came to me afterwards in great emotion, pressed my hand warmly and said: 'If *that* is not a success, what more do you want?' "

The church papers, English and German, were unstinted in their recognition of this Choral Vesper, not only as a most impressive presentation of Lutheran church music, but as of great value in showing what can be done with the sort of material that every earnest congregation may find within itself. Dr. Jacobs wrote: "The choruses by two hundred and fifty trained singers under Rev. E. Nidecker, quartettes and congregational singing alternated with the highest artistic effect. Every detail of the complicated scheme depended for its success largely upon the industry, patience, enthusiasm, tact and thorough musical and liturgical taste and training of Dr. Spaeth. . . . Throughout the whole program with its thirty-three parts, the attention of the audience was most earnest, and never flagged. The themes were so serious that this in itself was remarkable. But as progress was made through the depths of our Lord's Passion to the triumph of His Resurrection, and the realities of what is yet to come, in the *Dies irae* and 'Jerusalem du hochgebaute Stadt', with the massive walls of the church seeming to vibrate under the volume of song, many of the audience scarcely knew whether they were in the body or out of it.

"The great significance of the Choral Vesper, however, was not in the temporary enjoyment which it afforded. It was an exhibition of the solidity, earnestness and grandeur of our Lutheran faith, as it expresses itself in music. As Lutheranism manifests its distinctive characteristics not in a few points of doctrine, as some think, but pervades the whole system, and gives a different cast and shading to those doctrines in which there may be a superficial agreement with others, ... as it has a mode of preaching and service, peculiarly its own, as the na-

tural utterance of its distinctive life, so also with its music, the language of impassioned thought and feeling. How inconsistent with a service rendered in such music would be many of the errors and abuses which, at times, have led our people astray!"

In an article on the "Ideal Lutheran Service of Song" Dr. Ohl gives the program in full and adds: "Here there was an opportunity to hear and to learn, such as does not often present itself; and I feel safe in saying that to most of those present the program as rendered was a revelation. No one, however accustomed to modern musical forms, could escape the overpowering impression that this was pure worship-music, music free from secular suggestion, music that can be used only in the service of the Church and for no other purpose, music that begets devotion where devotion does not exist. . . . . If it be said that congregations will not take to it, and that it can be sung only by skilled choirs, I point to the results achieved in St. Johannis church of Philadelphia, and to the fact that the chorus at the Choral Service was composed of singers, most of whom do not even read music, and that with material of this kind the entire program was learned in ten separate and one general rehearsal."

THE LUTHER JUBILEE

"The treasures of church music which had become household-words in St. Johannis were also used now and then, outside of our own four walls, as suggestion and stimulus to others, or for their edification. The Luther celebration, November 10, 1883, for which I made the program, was planned in every respect after the pattern of our St. Johannis Sunday school festivals, of course on a vastly enlarged scale. Five hundred children in the parquet of the Academy of Music repre-

sented the Sunday schools of the General Council in Philadelphia, nine *per cent.* of all the scholars, chosen with reference to their ability to sing. On the stage a mixed choir of four hundred and fifty, among them one hundred and twelve singers from St. Johannis, was placed at the foot of an artistic representation of the Worms Monument. Between the choir and the children was the orchestra of fifty instruments directed by Charles Schmitz. Besides these thousand participants an audience of about two thousand also became 'active' in the chorales. Our good director had several times expressed his conviction that my program contained too many chorales for the congregation, and he did not wish in any way to be responsible for these numbers. He thought otherwise when, after the fine addresses of Dr. Mann and Dr. Krotel, we began 'Ein feste Burg'. . . . . The whole audience had risen at the request of the chairman, and stood like walls from one gallery to another. It was one tone, one soul. The full orchestra played with all its strength, but it was swallowed up. . . . . I can still see the director as he glanced at me, absolutely overpowered, and then laid down his baton, letting this Niagara of sound, uncontrollable, and needing no control, rush and roar whither it would. 'It made my hair stand on end!' he said afterwards." The official report of the celebration pronounced it a festival such as our Church here had never had. An hour like this cannot be made by any forethought or preparation. It must come as a gift from above.

"I myself had reason to accept this festival as a special gift of the goodness and grace of my God. After I had spent all summer, as Chairman of the Committee, planning, working, preparing, rehearsing, I caught a heavy cold shortly before the celebration. My voice was entirely gone, and it looked as if I would be

confined to my room, if not to my bed, on that day to which I was looking forward so eagerly. The night before I prayed earnestly: 'If it is not Thy will that I can be there, and take part, only grant Thy presence, and Thy blessing. Make it a success, to the praise and honor of Thy Name. Do as Thou wilt with me.' And I was permitted to go and to read as part of the program the well-known passage from Luther's 'Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans' on faith as the divine work in us." The fitting and beautiful response to this passage was the recitation, by the children from the German schools, of Luther's explanation of the Second Article of the Creed. "Of course my voice was no trumpet tone, as I would gladly have had it for that day. And I could not sing, which was a grievous deprivation. But I could only say: 'Be still my heart! Be thankful that you can be here.'"

Of the Luther Jubilee the Diary records: "The enthusiasm was great, and equally so was the disappointment of those, who, in their contemptuous indifference to the contemplated festival, had kept away from it. During the whole time of preparation the apathy of our English congregations grieved me. But still we were able to hand over to the Treasurer of Synod $1,000 for the proposed Seminary building." Somewhat later Dr. Schmauk wrote: "It is very surprising that the 'representative paper' of our Church has barely recognized the grandest and most glorious united public demonstration that our Church in Philadelphia has made for years. Its account was 'clipped' from a notoriously unfriendly source, though there were scores of our own most competent writers present. About one-fourth of the festival account itself consists of Bishop Stevens' letter of regrets. The peculiar features of the program, the very things that made it appropriate, are not given. Dr. Mann's great address is reported in two lines, and,

above all, the originator of the whole festival, the leading spirit both in planning and executing, together with the peculiar part of the program assigned to him, is wholly ignored."

In addition to the various Luther celebrations in which Dr. Spaeth took a prominent part in Philadelphia, he was called on for addresses in other cities. In Newark he used the fine *Vivit Lutherus,** which had been delivered at the Luther Jubilee of the New York Synod, and at the main celebration in St. Johannis. A few days afterwards he received from friends in Newark a large framed engraving of Labouchere's Burning of the Bull, which was long the chief ornament of the Lutherhalle in his Mt. Airy home, and is now in the Luther room of the Krauth Memorial Library.

THE LUTHERFESTSPIEL

"As early as the sixteenth century the heroic figure of Luther was made the subject of dramas, some of which were revived in 1883, when a great number of new plays were published, all of them requiring stage-setting and professional actors. . . . The Lutherfestspiel of Hans Herrig (Berlin, 1883), which was first given in Worms, is of an entirely different character. It requires no special stage with shifting of scenes, and is not intended for professional players. . . . The Herald and the City Councillor, who are placed on an extension of the platform, represent the old and the new era, and give, in dialogue, a running history of the Reformation. Only now and then the curtain opens, disclosing tableaux in which the principal scenes of the drama are presented: Luther in his cell, as Confessor

* Several years later, taking this theme for a Reformation address in an English church, he was somewhat astonished to hear the frank criticism: "Too much Luther!"

with his students, discussing Tetzel's letters of Indulgence, Luther and Staupitz, Burning the Bull, Worms, the Wartburg, the storm of the fanatics and peasants, and lastly the lovely family group, Luther in his home circle, with his lute and the sweet evening hymn for children. . . . . In the winter of 1890 to 1891 our Lutherverein wished to take up something special, and while we were considering various concert programs, etc., our organist, Mr. Otto Roth, spoke of this play, in which he had taken part in Germany, and of the wonderful impression made by it. We decided then to go to work. To be sure, for the *dramatis personae* we had not the necessary material in St. Johannis. We could only undertake the musical part, but we could make that far richer and more comprehensive than it had been in any German rendering. For the play itself I was obliged to seek assistance among our Seminary students, where my friend Ludwig, with his sound judgment and his personal acquaintance with the men, was a great help to me. Frequent rehearsals were held all winter both in the Seminary and in St. Johannis. We selected for the choir many treasures of church music not contemplated in Herrig's original, which provided only chorales for the congregation. At the beginning a fine chorus from Meinardus' Oratorio 'Der Gang nach Worms,' was sung with instrumental accompaniment, Rector Cordes and Sister Magdalene Steinmann taking two of the solo parts provided by Meinardus. At the end was a chorus from Haendel's 'Judas Maccabaeus;' the tableaux were interspersed with folk-songs from the sixteenth century, such as 'Wachet auf,' 'Aus tiefer Not,' 'Hilf, Herr mein Gott,' and three chorales were sung by the congregation, 'Ein feste Burg' following the scene at Worms." For this American production of the Festspiel Dr. Spaeth wrote a new Epilogue showing how Luther's influence had spread beyond the narrow con-

fines of the German tongue and land, how in spite of the persecution in England, Scandinavia had kept Luther's doctrine alive, and had sent Gustavus Adolphus to the help of Germany in its greatest need, and how in this new Western World, discovered when Luther was a school boy of nine years, and largely settled and cultivated by German thrift, Luther's doctrine, his Bible, his Catechism, his hymns, had not been left behind, but had become an abiding influence here for good. "Therefore, Luther-folk, hold fast to thy faith, that no man take thy crown." "If anyone had doubted how this play would be received, one glance at the audience of twelve hundred would have set aside all misgivings. From beginning to end there was not only a strained attention, but even a feeling of devotion, and with all the deep satisfaction written on every face, there was never an attempt to lower the character of the evening by noisy applause. In this respect the Festspiel stood far above the Jubilee in the Academy in 1883. As the closing chorale died away, the whole assembly stood for a moment as in silent prayer, or as if waiting to be dismissed with the benediction. . . . .

"Of course the play was not carried through without some fault-finding and opposition. Certain gentlemen in the Seminary Board were of the opinion that such a play was not proper for students of theology, and I heard here and there disquieting rumors of a protest against it, to be sent either to the authorities of the Seminary or to Synod. . . . The evening of the third of March came. Just as I left my house to go down into the city and assume the direction of the musical portion of the Festspiel, the letter-carrier handed me a large official envelope, that evidently came from the President of Synod. I could imagine that possibly a protest against our play might be in it. But what could I do with it at that late hour? The tickets were

sold, the house filled with an eagerly expectant audience. Could we send them home? I knew there was no retreat; I must go through with it now, come what may. So I quietly stuck the formidable document in my pocket, and decided to read it after we were through. I comforted myself with Prince Eugen the noble Knight, who often found himself compelled to pocket dispatches from the war department in Vienna, until he had fought his battle and won his victory. I must fight, must win, even if I brought a censure on myself. But nothing happened. I could truthfully say to the President that his protest (for that was really what the envelope contained) had come too late! The profit on the play, quite a considerable sum, was divided evenly between the Orphans' Home and the Seminary, and—no one protested!"

The Diary says: "The widespread desire for a second presentation of the Lutherfestspiel could not be gratified on account of the protest of the English Lutheran pastors against it. On the other hand the play was given in English in a Presbyterian church!" Nine months afterwards, in Capri, he writes: "From Mr. L. W. I received the curious program for an evening entertainment by the — — Association, in the solemn Advent Season, in which 'Cleopatra,' 'The dancing Girl,' etc., are offered for the edification of our young Lutherans. And, unlike our Lutherfestspiel, it seems this entertainment moved no censor to enter protest against it!"

LUTHER MEMORIAL SERVICE

This service, held in the Academy of Music on Ash Wednesday, February 19, 1896, was first suggested by the Pastoral Association, who laid their plans before the Social Union, and secured its co-operation at once. Dr. Spaeth was Chairman of the General Committee

and had the selection of the music. Pastor Nidecker again drilled the choir. In the appointment of speakers there was no distinction between General Council and General Synod.

As at the Luther Jubilee thirteen years before, an immense throng of Lutherans again filled the Academy to overflowing. Mr. William H. Staake, President of the Social Union acted as Chairman. The English speakers were Dr. Charles S. Albert and Dr. Henry E. Jacobs. Dr. Spaeth made the German address. The opening chorale was "Jehovah, Thee to praise," which had been written for the Jubilee, but for this occasion was given in both languages on the program, the German text being a translation by Dr. Spaeth. The Responsory, sung in Latin, was the beautiful *Ecce, quomodo moritur justus* (Behold how the righteous dieth) by Jacob Gallus, 1591. These words formed the text of the funeral address of Michael Coelius, on February 20, 1546, immediately before the procession started, which conveyed Luther's body from Eisleben to Wittenberg.

After the singing of Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar," to the exquisite music composed for the poet's funeral by Dr. J. Fredk. Bridges, Dr. Spaeth began his address with a reference to the Luther Jubilee, to the elaborate stage decoration, to the festive array and richly colored banners of the children, to the dates 1483, 1883, in figures of flame. "Today our celebration is of a simpler, more earnest character. Not by the cradle of the little Martin, but at the deathbed and beside the coffin of the great warrior do we stand, in spirit, today. But whether it is Luther in the cradle or Luther in the coffin, his name still possesses its old power, its old magnetism. I need not ask whether we did well and wisely in arranging a joint celebration in memory of his death three hundred

and fifty years ago, and in holding it in this house.* You have given the answer, you who have flocked together to bear witness to your love and reverence for our dear Father Luther. Why should we not be free to hold this memorial service, when we have before us the plain admonition of Scripture: 'Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.' We are here today to remember him, who, more than any other, has spoken unto us the word of God, pure and clean, the Word and nothing but the Word; and we are also here to consider his end, when, after almost superhuman labor and struggle and conflict, he departed in peace to his Saviour."

Dr. Spaeth spoke of the savage attacks on Luther, alive and dead, which were renewed as the contribution of his enemies to the Jubilee in 1883. He gave the circumstances under which Luther left Wittenberg, January 23, 1546, and described his death in Eisleben, February 18th, and the funeral ceremonies there and in Wittenberg, February 19th to 22d. He dwelt on the simple, natural scenes at this deathbed, in contrast to the legends of saints, and to the dramatic end of Zwingli on the battlefield. "It may well be that the absent friends of Luther were disappointed when they read the account of Jonas and Coelius, by the homely details of this dying hour. The man who so often had stared Death and Devil in the face with dauntless scorn, suffers now the natural human dread of dying. He who had so long looked forward to this hour, who was so well prepared for it, who had so often prayed for it, makes no secret of his shrinking and anxiety now that it has really come. He who could expound the word of God

* Both questions had been raised when the plan first took shape.

so wonderfully, who could so edify and strengthen the hearts of his hearers, has nothing more to say, . . . no long testimony, no final bequest, no further instructions for his friends. All is comprised in the single, brief 'Yes' with which he confesses his faith, in answer to the question of Jonas and Coelius. The absolute honesty which had characterized Luther in life, remained with him in his last hour. There was no 'posing,' no 'attitude.' He had lived for others. He died for himself alone. His soul withdrew from the outside world. His chief concern now was that he himself, as a poor sinner, might be saved by the grace of his Redeemer."

THE LEIPZIG QUARTETTE

In the fall of 1900 Dr. Spaeth was greatly interested in a series of concerts, which had kept him very busy for months, although he neither made the programs nor led the singing. At the meeting of the Philadelphia German Conference held in St. Johannis, January 16, 1900, Pastor Wischan reported that he had been in correspondence with the Leipzig Solo-quartette for church music, with the warm approval of the President of the Conference, Dr. Spaeth, and that the singers were willing to come to America in the fall for a concert tour. They were already well known throughout Christian Europe. The plan was at once accepted, and the President was asked to appoint a Central Committee to take the matter in hand.

On the eighth of October the Solo-quartette landed in New York, and on the eleventh their first concert was given in that city in St. Mark's church, at the Convocation of Lutheran Church Musicians. The program was: "Master Singers of Evangelical Church Music." In an article written for the *Berliner Reichsbote* of November 9, 1900, Dr. Spaeth speaks of the masterly way in which

Herr Kantor Roethig arranges his programs, particularly noticeable in the one presented before the Convocation. On the following Sunday they arrived in Philadelphia, appearing in the choir gallery of St. Johannis near the conclusion of the morning service. At Dr. Spaeth's half apologetic request they came down to the chancel, in their travelling dress, and sang our familiar "Ich will Dich lieben,"—but as we had never heard it sung before! On Monday the first concert in Philadelphia was given in St. Johannis. The program, "Bethlehem to Golgotha," was incorporated with the usual Vesper service, Pastor Goedel acting as liturge and intoning the minister's part. After each number of the program a Scripture lesson was read, leading over to the next. "It was right that the first concert in Philadelphia should be given in St. Johannis, for here, almost exclusively, the old church music has been cultivated . . . . and masterly as was the interpretation of newer compositions by the Quartette, the old settings plainly surpassed them in text, rhythm and harmony. If only our choirs and congregations retain the enthusiasm for the old church music, which the Leipzig Quartette has aroused in all intelligent hearers! We have only heard a few selections from the great musical treasures of our Church. It will well repay us to use more of them." (*Kirchenbote.*) *

"Their conception and presentation of the old Masters, even for those who are in some degree acquainted with them, are suggestive and inspiring in the highest degree.

* "Their singing, quite apart from the pleasure it gives to all their audiences, is most especially a vindication for me, and of the church music which, for twenty-five years, I have defended and cultivated. Now, at last, our organists begin to ask about the source of this music. 'Cannot we also procure it?' So long as it was only heard in St. Johannis, they gave it the cold shoulder, or even treated it with scorn!"—(Diary.)

They are correct in calling themselves a Solo-quartette. Their singing is not that of the massive church choir, but of highly cultivated solo singers, . . . although, in the wonderful combination of the four voices, the distinctive personality effaces itself, lost in the grand unit of the ancient music. The very heart of their artistic production is and remains the genuineness of it all; that is, the deep devotion with which they feel and believe and confess what their lips are singing.

"Acoustically, the singers have to contend with difficulties here which they scarcely knew in the old world. The churches in which the concerts are held, are very small in comparison with those in Europe, and their heavy carpets muffle and injure the tone. The Quartette miss the mighty stone structure of European churches. Their voices were heard at their best when they sang 'Christ ist erstanden' and 'Ein feste Burg' on the wide, vaulted marble staircase of the Deaconess House in Philadelphia, whose guests they were." (A. S. in *Berliner Reichsbote.*)

More than fifty concerts were given during the American tour, which extended as far west as Milwaukee. Shortly before the singers sailed for home, they visited Washington with Dr. Spaeth and other members of the central committee, and were cordially welcomed by President McKinley. On top of the National Monument, 550 feet above the city, they sang "Die gueldene Sonne," and afterwards, under the great dome of the Capitol, gave two of their most effective songs, while an immense throng gathered about them with uncovered heads, and listened in deep silence to the glorious music. Four days later, accompanied by Dr. Spaeth as far as New York, they embarked on the steamer Lahn. The members of the Leipzig Quartette, founded in 1885 for the resuscitation of Evangelical church music in Germany, were Herr Kantor Bruno Roethig (tenor),

Frau Clara Roethig (soprano), Fraeulein Hedwig Risch (alto), and Herr Eugen Tannewitz (bass). The receipts from their concerts, after expenses were covered, were always given for benevolent purposes.

CONVOCATION OF CHURCH MUSICIANS

At the session of the General Council in Erie, Pa., 1897, a resolution was passed recommending that organists, singing teachers and pastors interested in church music should come together once a year "in order to present and discuss questions connected with the rendering of the Lutheran service and church music in general, that the same may be raised to a higher and more uniform standard, and that the musical treasures of our Church may be more widely known." A Committee was appointed to carry out this idea, with Dr. Spaeth as Chairman. He presided at every subsequent meeting of the Convocation. On Wednesday, June 1, 1898, just before the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Mother Synod, the first Convocation of Church Musicians was called in the church of the Holy Communion, then at Broad and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. At the morning session three papers were read: "Sunday school music in its relation to the service of the Church," "The Organ," and "The Sphere of the Choir in the service." In the afternoon the Morning service according to the Church Book with Music was held, and instead of a sermon there were two addresses: "The historical Development of the Lutheran Morning Service," by Dr. E. T. Horn, and, "The Idea underlying the Lutheran Main Service," by Dr. Spaeth. In the evening the Convocation closed with a Choral Vesper, the theme being the Creed. This was given in St. Johannis, Dr. Spaeth directing his choir, who were assisted by some of the students from the Seminary.

At the second Convocation in Pittsburgh, 1899, Dr. Spaeth spoke on the subject, "What is Church Music?" The musical feature of this year was the Vesper Service as rendered by the fine choir of the "First Church." In 1900 at St. Mark's in New York, the Leipzig Quartette made their first appearance, before the Convocation. Dr. Spaeth's topic was, "The Pastor and the Organist." In 1901 the Convocation met for the fourth time, in Buffalo, N. Y., where the music was again supplied by the choir of the First Church in Pittsburgh. One session was held in the Temple of Music, at the Pan-American Exposition, on the afternoon of October 8th, where "Ein feste Burg" was sung. Dr. Spaeth spoke on "Music in the Lutheran Church," and again, in the evening, on "Choir Music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Of this meeting in Buffalo he writes: "The Matin Service and the Vespers were most beautifully rendered by the Pittsburgh choir, Mr. Rees acting as Liturge and singing everything, including lessons and collects. He did it admirably. It was of greatest interest to me to hear our whole service rendered exactly in the way which was provided in our old Cantionale, and even in such modern books as the Mecklenburg Cantionale and Schoeberlein, but this form of intoning Lessons and Collects will never become popular again in our Church. My interest in it is chiefly an archaeological one.

"Our gathering in the Music Temple, from two to four, was also quite a success. When we sang 'Ein feste Burg' immediately before my address, we had about fifteen hundred people there. . . . The Lutherans are the only denomination who have come to the front in this manner in connection with the exposition. You can imagine that looking down on the spot where the President was assassinated, I made good use of the battle hymn of the Reformation in my address, and closed

with the hope and prayer that the day would not be distant when it would be the common property of all American Christians." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

The fifth Convocation was held in Allentown, June 10, 1908, with Dr. Spaeth in the chair for the last time. He had been requested to "tackle the Giant," and with some reluctance had prepared a paper on Johann Sebastian Bach, restricting himself to "Bach's relation to Church Music in the narrow sense of that word, as music used in the Service of the worshiping congregation." In this paper, which was called "very important and discriminating," he applied the principles laid down by the Convocation, defining Church Music as Service music, congregational music, and essentially vocal music, and showed that Bach's compositions were intended "for the glory of God" as he inscribed them, and for the sanctuary and worship. At this meeting a paper was also read, "Milton and Music," which had been prepared by his son, Sigmund Spaeth. It was published, with Dr. Spaeth's paper on Bach, in the *Church Review,* October, 1908. The convention closed with the singing of Palestrina's Marcelli Mass, by the choir of sixteen voices, trained by Professor C. A. Marks, for whom and for whose work Dr. Spaeth always felt the highest esteem. Before another meeting of the Convocation both of them had passed away.

HYMNS, TRANSLATIONS, COMPOSITIONS

While Dr. Spaeth's poetry alone might not have made him famous, the ease with which he could turn any thought or sentiment into metrical form and, if need be, fit to it a smooth and pleasing melody, made not only a very valuable addition to his equipment for the editorial work on the *Jugendfreund,* but also for the preparation of his Sunday school programs several times

a year, and the provision of material for his choir. For the choir especially he made many translations from the English, where the music was adapted to his purpose; for example, Whittier's "Centennial Hymn," "Crossing the Bar," "Abide with Me," "Rock of Ages," "Jesus Lover of My Soul," and "Nearer My God to Thee."

Some of these were particularly adapted, and often used, for funerals in families where both German and English were spoken. He was fond of the old tunes in the Scottish Psalmody, and for some of these he selected hymns, though their metres are seldom found in German. More frequently he composed new words: "Jesu Christ, Marien Sohn," "Nach Dir, o Herr, verlanget mich," and others. After his second marriage, he often found tunes in the "Church Book with Music," especially adaptations from the Danish, "The happy Christmas," etc., which he used first for the *Jugendfreund,* and afterwards in the "Liederlust."

For the tenth of May and for the Reformation Festival he wrote words to a fine processional which he found in a book of Kindergartenlieder ("Es klingt wie Festgelaeute"). Another favorite processional was written to a melody of his own ("Kommt, Kinder, Kommt," No. 153 in revised Sonntagschulbuch), which was originally set to a lively little song by Julie Lippman, "Come comrades, come, the way is long." His music to Loehe's hymn, "O Gottes Sohn" (1885) has become a favorite, especially in our Deaconess Houses. The words were translated by Mrs. Spaeth. A very beautiful melody to "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig," long used in St. Johannis for the opening of every communion service, may be found in Wm. Merker's "Chor Buch," No. 51.

Among his best hymns are those written for the great festivals of the Church Year. For Christmas he wrote both words and music of "Auf Bethlehems Felde," which was translated and used in the English Sunday School

Book. Another Christmas hymn, "Herbei zur seligen Weihnachtsfreud!" has always been a great favorite in St. Johannis. It was translated both by Miss Welden and by Mrs. Spaeth, and printed in several of the church papers. For Epiphany, the ancient hymn "Drei Koenig fuehrt die goettlich Hand" (Koeln, 1621) was set to music by Dr. Spaeth in 1886. For Easter two of his melodies are given in the "Liederlust," "Der Ost ergluehet," * and "Osterglocken klingen." The words of the latter are also his. For Ascension, Arndt's fine song, "Wie prangt im Fruehlingskleide," inspired a melody worthy of it. All of Dr. Spaeth's melodies in the "Liederlust," including five of Friedrich Rueckert's "Kindertodtenlieder," were harmonized by Mr. Endlich.

The "Liederlust," published in 1886, was favorably reviewed by Dr. B. M. Schmucker and others. Dr. Schmucker says: "There are eight original songs by Dr. Spaeth, all of which are marked by fluent smoothness and, at times, by a vigor and beauty of thought which give them much merit." The Iowa *Kirchenblatt* found the book excellent, but, "though neither compiler nor publisher thought of such a thing, a rather formidable rival to the beautiful Sunday School Book of the General Council." In the second sentence of the Preface the friendly reviewer might have found his apprehensions answered by Dr. Spaeth's own words: "For most of the hymns which have not a melody of their own, we refer to the 'Sonntagschulbuch,' which we wish to see introduced in all our houses and schools."

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY WORK

In the earlier years of Pastor Spaeth's ministry he wrote a vast number of articles on a great variety of

* Translated and used in Mrs. Spaeth's Easter Service for 1900, "Christ the Resurrection and the Life," published by Mr. Brobst.

subjects, mostly for the periodicals of his friend Pastor Brobst, few of which had any permanent value or more than a passing interest. In 1866 Pastor Brobst announced in the *Zeitschrift* that, for the coming year, Pastor Spaeth would have charge of the departments, "Christian Education in general, and Higher Culture in particular," "Relation of Church to Science and Art," and "Foreign News, especially Church News." Early in 1867 he began a series of "Questions and Answers on the Gospels of the Church Year," which ran for many months, under the heading, "The Sunday School Teacher." At the same time, beginning early in 1868, Pastor Spaeth conducted, for about a year, a separate periodical called *Sonntagschullehrer und Elternfreund,* (Sunday School Teacher and Parents' Friend), which received a very appreciative notice from the *Lutheran and Missionary.* A few months later he became interested in the *Jugendfreund,* contributing a series of Sermons to Children in 1869, and long continued to take a very active part in this publication, which he edited from 1877 to 1889. In January, 1885, Dr. Spaeth writes, after giving briefly the history of the *Jugendfreund:* "When Pastor Brobst was on his deathbed, he begged the writer very earnestly and eagerly that he might depart with the hope that his *Jugendfreund* would not come to an end, but would be carried on by him and other friends. We made this promise to the dying Brother, and have tried, with the help of God to keep it. We will go on trying to be true to the words that Pastor Brobst had printed in large letters in the first number of the *Jugendfreund,* June 16, 1847: 'Wer dem Teufel in seinem Reich einen Schaden zufuegen will, der ihn recht beisse, der mache sich an die Jugend und Kinder und suche bei ihnen einen Grund zu legen, der fuer und fuer bleibe.' " (Luther.)

There was hardly a reputable German Church paper

published in the General Council in the East, to which he was not at some time asked to contribute. Several series of travel-letters appeared in different periodicals. "Betrachtungen," homiletical meditations, were continued for months, not only in German papers, but also in English, for example, "Gospel Thoughts" and similar series in the *Lutheran,* and even seventeen "Sermonettes" in the *Public Ledger.* The latter grew out of a "Sermonette" in which Dr. Spaeth considered the peculiar tenets of the Romish Church somewhat offensively brought forward. His letter of remonstrance was declined, on the very proper ground that a daily newspaper is not an arena for irate theologians, but with the offer to print a series of Lutheran "Sermonettes" if he would supply them. He undertook to do so, and while he was abroad during part of the time in which they appeared, this duty, with a marked copy of the "Saatkoerner" was handed over to Mrs. Spaeth.

Perhaps the most important, certainly the most generally interesting series of German articles from Dr. Spaeth's pen, was the "Erinnerungen" (Reminiscences), printed in the *Kirchenbote* during the last two years of its publication (1906 to 1908), beginning a few months before he succeeded Pastor Goedel as its editor. They are called the "Reminiscences of a Philadelphia Pastor," but cover a much wider range, including a concise history of the Seminary, the General Council, the Allgemeine Konferenz, etc. As far as they concern his life and work, the "Erinnerungen" have been embodied in this volume.

SUNDAY REST

In the fall of 1893, on the way home from Rock Island and Dubuque, Dr. Spaeth spent half a day at the Exposition in Chicago, but contented himself with looking at the outside of the buildings and getting the general

effect, which he found very fine. . . . "I kept away from the World's Congress of Religion, as I consider the whole business unchristian and humbug. But for the Sunday Rest Congress I had sent in a paper, in which, over against the Romish presentation of Cardinal Gibbons and the puritanic-calvinistic views of a New York Presbyterian, I tried to represent the truly Evangelical conception of Sunday, as confessed in our Augustana and the Catechism. In many circles, as was to be expected, I gave great offence, and have had ample opportunity once more to be convinced how much our American Christianity and church life need the healthy Paulinian salt, which, above all, our Lutheran Confession represents. The French showed a special interest in my work on this subject, and I was pleased to receive from Paris, a newspaper issued in the interest of Sunday Rest, which reprinted the main portions of my Essay, briefly and concisely, as giving the correct standpoint, over against the puritan English idea of Sunday." (A. S. to Hole.) The full text of this paper was later published in the *Church Review,* and to it was appended the following note: "No effort was made to explain, defend or apologize for the declarations made in our Confessions. They were simply stated, and their close relation was pointed out to the two fundamental principles of the Reformation: Justification by Faith, and the Word of God as the only rule of faith and means of grace. . . A 'Lutheran' who happened to be a member of the Committee on the Chicago Sunday Congress and into whose hands the paper had been given, to read it before the convention, at once went to work and prepared an opposition paper, in which he tried to prove that the statements here presented from the Catechism and the Augsburg Confession were not the Lutheran Views on Sunday and Sunday Rest. Fortunately when the Committee published the principal papers read in Chicago,

it adhered to the original presentation of the 'Lutheran View,' and printed at least a brief of its essential points."

LECTURES

Dr. Spaeth's ability as a lecturer was recognized in America long before the great series of Hero Lectures gave him a European reputation also. The first lecture of which there is any record was in 1865, June 1st, on "Savonarola," for the benefit of the Orphans' Home. On January 6, 1868, he delivered his first Mission lecture on India, with maps; on the 20th his first lecture for the German Society, on the "Waldenses." In 1871 the fine lecture on "Ernst Moritz Arndt, ein Prophet des deutschen Volkes," showed traces of the power that the Hero Lectures were to develop later.

In 1875 one of the series given to pave the way for the Sonntagschulbuch in St. Johannis, attracted much attention. The *Zeitschrift* describes the arrangement in the church, by which a large platform was built out from the pulpit, accommodating the choir and the children of the parish school. Dr. Spaeth's theme was, "Das geistliche Volkslied," illustrated by hymns for the chief Festivals, from the earliest time until after the Reformation. Each hymn was preceded by a few explanatory words, and was first read and then sung. The spiritual Folk-song took its rise from the *Kyrie Eleison* which the Germans sang in the earliest times, and to which, gradually, short sentences were added. Later, not only hymns for the Church Festivals, but verses commemorating some passing event were sung to these simple, popular tunes, a proof of the firm hold which Christianity had taken on the hearts of the people, and how all the relations of life were pervaded by Christian ideas. Often secular melodies were wedded to religious words and to this we owe not a few of the finest hymns.

In a private letter printed a few weeks later, Dr. J. J. Schaeublein, Musikdirektor in Basel, says: "Professor Spaeth is entirely right in thinking that such lectures are a most important factor in introducing and establishing the Sonntagschulbuch, especially now, when the effort to promote the circulation of rival collections of songs (of which I could easily turn out a dozen a day, of the very sweetest type) is meeting with so much favor in your country. Only by means of what is good, can we fully attain goodness."

Dr. Spaeth often delivered lectures in the Seminary, abstracts in English of the Hero Lectures, or specially prepared. In 1894, his address on "Gustavus Adolphus" was noticed in the *Lutheran* as worthy of the Academy of Music and a large audience. "Rarely do we find Professors of Theology able to explain with minuteness and thorough familiarity the art of war, and the mode of handling forces." In 1898 he spoke to the students on the "Founding of the German Empire by Bismarck;" in 1905, by special request, he made an English address on Schiller, reading extracts in German from the "Bride of Messina" and the "Song of the Bell."

ARTICLES FOR WORKS OF REFERENCE

The first work of reference to which Pastor Spaeth contributed was M. Gottfried Buechner's "biblische Real-und Verbal Hand-Concordanz, oder Exegetisch-homiletisches Lexikon, revised and improved by Dr. Heinrich Leonhard Huebner, with a preface by Dr. Philip Schaff." In 1871 the thirteenth edition of this Concordance (first American edition) was published by Ig. Kohler, and to it Pastor Spaeth added about 8060 new passages. These were based on Cruden's Concordance, and were printed as an Appendix. Difficult passages were briefly explained. The Diary tells us that

this work was completed in three months. The Lutheran said, in noticing the Concordance: "The Appendix by Pastor Spaeth, extending to nearly sixty closely printed pages, is a marvel of industry and precision."

In 1887 a "Kirchliches Handlexicon" was published by J. Naumann of Leipzig, under the direction of Carl Meusel, Ph. D. Dr. Spaeth had the department of American Church and Theology. After writing a few articles he resigned this appointment. The articles are not signed.

The "Lutheran Cyclopedia" appeared in 1899, edited by Dr. Henry E. Jacobs, with the assistance of Dr. J. A. W. Haas. The departments of Hymnology and Catechetics were in charge of Dr. Spaeth. He contributed also to Liturgics, and wrote on other general topics, *e. g.*, the "Tuebingen Stift," and the "Professors in Tuebingen." Including the short biographical notes on hymn-writers and others, he wrote about three hundred and fifty articles.

1901. "Realencylopaedie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Begruendet von J. J. Herzog (1877) heraus gegeben von Dr. Albert Hauck." For this third edition (Herzog-Hauck), Dr. Spaeth had taken up the work which his dear friend, Dr. Sigmund Fritschel, was not able to finish. He wrote the articles: Krauth—Mann—Muehlenberg—Nord Amerika, luther. Kirche—Schmucker, B. M.—Schmucker, S. S.—Walther, Ferd., several of which were translated for the *Church Review*. One of these, on the "Lutheran Church in North America" was printed separately and is thus noticed by the *Review:* "It is a discriminative and historical résumé and survey of the whole American Church, crowded with the salient points of development, objective in mode of treatment, well proportioned in quantity of matter given to each, and fair to all. It is the best brief description of the history of the Lutheran Church in

America ever written." The next issue of Herzog was an English revision of the second edition (known as Herzog-Plitt), edited by Drs. Schaff and S. M. Jackson, in which some of Dr. Spaeth's articles were included from the Herzog-Hauck. He had not contributed to the "Herzog-Plitt Encyclopedia," which contained articles from only three Americans, Drs. Gregory, Mann and Schaff.

In 1911 the third volume of Hastings' "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics" contained an article on "Catechisms (Lutheran)", which had been prepared for it by Dr. Spaeth.

HIS ENGLISH ARTICLES AND HIS BOOKS

In speaking of the *Lutheran Church Review* for April, 1885, containing Dr. Spaeth's sermon in Monroe, on the General Council, and Dr. Mann's review of "Zschocke's Hours of Devotion," Dr. B. M. Schmucker says: "It is a noticeable fact that two of the three articles in this number of the *Review,* written in pure, racy, vigorous English, should be from the pens of men born and educated, to the close of the University course, in Germany, and, ever since their coming to America, Pastors of German churches." As early as 1871 the Diary notes, December 12th: "This morning wrote an article for the *'Lutheran'* in defense of Brother Brobst in the German liturgy matter. Will see whether it is accepted, and how it is received." The *Lutheran* had called Pastor Brobst rather sharply to account for alleged changes in the order of service which he had reprinted, and proposed to issue with music. Pastor Spaeth's first English article, which Pastor Geisenhainer also signed, began with the rather startling address, "Mrs. Editors!" a perfectly logical plural for "Mr. Editor." An editorial note in the same issue, December

28th, admits that too much had been made of the "changes" which were practically only in rubrics. Then, having successfully championed his friend, Pastor Spaeth retired for ten years from the columns of the *Lutheran*.

After 1880, when Dr. Spaeth's position in the General Council forced him to use the English language very frequently in his public ministrations,* and especially after the founding of the *Review* in 1882, to which he contributed regularly † from the first number on, many, probably most, of his important articles appeared in English. The "Saatkoerner" was published in 1893. For it he had masses of material in German, and, as a memorial volume for St. Johannis, it was necessarily in that language. The "Erinnerungsblaetter," selected from Dr. Mann's voluminous writings, were of course in both languages. This book appeared in 1895, and after that, the three larger volumes written by him, the "Commentary on John" (1896), and the Krauth Biography I (1898), and II (1909), were all English. The most critical reader could scarcely find a flaw in the tenderly beautiful tribute with which the Biography closes.

The "Saatkoerner," while primarily intended as a remembrance to St. Johannis on its twenty-fifth anniversary, received hearty recognition on all sides as a valuable series of sermon-suggestions. "This book will not only recall to the members of the congregation much

* The Diary says, June 17, 1880: "At the service in St. Mark's, connected with the sending off of a missionary to India, I spoke for the first time in English, in one of our English churches." The missionary was Rev. H. G. B. Artmann.

† In the earlier numbers he had charge of the department, "Recent German Theological Literature." Several of his later articles were re-printed separately, especially biographical sketches, and contributions to the history of our Church in America.

that is not here written, but will be highly prized by others for the rich thoughts drawn from God's word, with which every section abounds." (H. E. J.) "A charming gift, this 'Saatkoerner,' from which I have often sown good seed in my own soul, as well as in the souls entrusted to me. . . . The more earnestly I study it, the more highly do I value it." (Bishop von Scheele.)

In the *Lutheran* of January 31, 1895, Dr. Krotel writes: "Although Dr. Spaeth is a very busy man, he still seems to find time for new work. He reminds me, in this particular, of a statement I recently read concerning the late Dr. Ph. Schaff, *viz.*, that he always had three books under way at one and the same time. That seems to be the case with the gentleman who is at one and the same time President of the Synod of Pennsylvania, Pastor of St. Johannis church, and Professor in our Theological Seminary. He has long been at work on a Biography of the lamented Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, his father-in-law, of which he has already published some chapters; he is announced as one of the writers of the new 'Lutheran Commentary;' and here he is at work on a life of Dr. Mann."

This was published in 1895 under the title, "Dr. Wilhelm Julius Mann, ein deutsch-amerikanischer Theologe," with the sub-title, "Erinnerungsblaetter." In addition to his memorial of Dr. Mann,* which appeared in English in the *Review* of January, 1893, and was separately printed for the Ministerium later, Dr. Spaeth had thought of writing a German Biography of his friend, but gave up this intention when Miss Emma Mann's charming Memoir of her father appeared. Instead, he put together the "Erinnerungsblaetter," extracts from Dr. Mann's published articles, his letters and

* Called by the *Lutheran* "a beautiful, and, to our mind, an ideal biography."

diaries, only supplying the necessary connecting links, "without adding any criticism, even when he differed from the sentiments expressed. . . . We close the book with gratitude to Dr. Spaeth for his warm-hearted tribute to the man, the value of whose friendship the lapse of years only helped him to appreciate more deeply." (G. F. K.)

In the spring of 1891 Dr. Spaeth delivered a course of seven lectures on the Gospel of St. John, by invitation of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, a national organization for furthering a more general and accurate knowledge of Scripture. Each lecture was delivered in the afternoon in the lecture room of Trinity Church, Nineteenth and Walnut, and repeated the same evening in the Oxford Presbyterian Church on North Broad Street. The course was very well attended. In Capri he was working on a second series of lectures, by invitation of the same association, taking up the book of Acts, and had the Syllabus ready for the printer, but the lectures were not completed, owing doubtless to his physical condition in the following winter. The lectures of 1891 were made the basis of the "Annotations on the Gospel according to St. John," Volume V. of the "Lutheran Commentary," published by the Christian Literature Co., New York, 1896. At the same time appeared Volume VII. of the Commentary, containing Dr. Jacobs' "Annotations on the Epistle to the Romans." Naturally the two volumes were usually reviewed together, and many points were brought out, of similarity or contrast between the two authors and their works. Dr. Fry writes: "Dr. Jacobs has been the patient investigator, searching for the foundations of truth, Dr. Spaeth the eloquent preacher seeking to shew men that truth in all its consistency and power. . . . These two books suggest in a remarkable way, not only the wonderful variety, yet greater unity of the Word of

God on which they comment,—but the diversities of gifts and gifted men with whom God has blessed our Church. And if, by the study of these two volumes one could catch the manner and spirit of both, in his investigation and presentation of God's Word,—it would be a combination of power the world has seldom seen." Dr. Schmauk says, of the Commentary on John: "His masterpiece, both in the way of control, of solidity, of finish, and of that deep German *Innigkeit* which distinguished the writing of Luther and of St. John himself." (*Church Review*, July, 1910.)

"Die heilige Passion in sieben liturgischen Andachten," was published in 1897 after twenty years' use in St. Johannis, at first in simple form, then with all the musical embellishment for which it offered opportunity. It was based on Schoeberlein's "Passionsliturgie," published in 1870, of which a second edition was given out by Max Herold in 1895. Dr. Berkemeier in reviewing it says: "Compiled from the best sources by the man who has probably done more than any other in this land for the re-awakening of the liturgical spirit, Dr. A. Spaeth, these services offer an inexhaustible spring of pure devotion. Scripture and hymns, choir music and collects are here so woven together, with such fine discriminating art, and at the same time, such artless simplicity, that every heart must be deeply moved by them."

THE KRAUTH BIOGRAPHY

Shortly after Dr. Krauth's death Dr. Spaeth began collecting material for his biography. Dr. Krauth had never kept a diary, but a number of sketches of his early life appeared, giving interesting details of his college days. He was not yet sixty, and for some years many of his cotemporaries survived him. Through Dr. B. M. Schmucker, Dr. Spaeth had access to very valuable

private and official papers belonging to Dr. S. S. Schmucker and others, in the General Synod, which would scarcely have been offered to any other biographer. Dr. Krauth's correspondence with his father was a faithful record of his theological development. Family letters and papers were, of course, at Dr. Spaeth's disposal. And, coming to his printed articles and works of every kind, the mass of material was overwhelming. Much of this was in the clumsy old *Lutheran and Missionary,* volume after volume of which was carried from the Seminary to the parsonage for examination. Dozens of note-books were filled; now and then an article was painfully dictated and written out, only to be discovered ten minutes later, neatly pasted in a scrap-book! In 1890 the first volume was ready for the press. "Now we need a publisher," says the Diary, but as this worthy did not show himself, the Ms. was laid aside for eight years, during which the work on the second volume was carried on, somewhat less vigorously, and with many interruptions. In 1898 Dr. Spaeth published the first volume at his own expense. It was very kindly received by the reviewers, but they, as well as the general public, seemed inclined to wait for the second volume before committing themselves. When this appeared in 1909, completing the last and greatest of Dr. Spaeth's works, there was but one voice of satisfaction and pleasure in every part of the Church. Dr. Bauslin wrote, "We are glad for the completion of this able biography. It is full of historical data not available elsewhere, and dealing with a most interesting period of our denominational history in this country. It is a timely work. It will inform, illuminate and confirm." "In this history we have a dogmatics, a practical theology, a liturgics, a church polity, a book of devotion, all in one. We most earnestly recommend it to our pastors." (*Lutheran Standard.*) "We do not hesitate to give to the finished

work a place among the foremost productions of our Lutheran Church, in the English language. . . . He who wishes to form a correct judgment of the General Council of today, will do well first to study this book thoroughly." (Prof. M. Reu, *Kirchliche Zeitschrift.*)

Dr. Spaeth was a passionate man. When he felt it necessary to strike, he could deal a straight and telling blow. Yet, among all the thousands of articles that flowed from his ready pen, very few can be considered as polemical. He was neither pugnacious nor resentful, neither vindictive nor implacable. From his father he had inherited a fine stock of pungent Swabian phrases, "drastisch" he called them, and one of these which he often used was "den Kopf zwischen die Ohren setzen." * Undoubtedly that is the only proper position for the head, though the process of having it restored to its place may be anything but agreeable.

October 13, 1881, the *Lutheran* published an editorial, on the "Christian Colonization in Palestine," by the "large number of devout people" composing the Temple Society, characterizing the movement as "a beginning for the recovery of that downtrodden land *as the earthly centre and seat of the Kingdom of God.*" The Editor, Dr. Seiss, recommended the agent who was collecting for this purpose in America, and declared himself ready to receive contributions for the cause. In the following week the *Zeitschrift* contained a statement by Dr. Spaeth, of the true origin and character of the "German Temple," founded by Christoph Hoffmann, called by the *Workman* "the saddest idiocy of modern German religionism." He dwelt on the antagonism of the "Tempelsekt" to the Church, its denial of the doctrine of the Trinity and

* Used at least once in print, in the "Reisebriefe" (*Kirchenbote* 1907), when Dr. Spaeth "set straight" the Jewish gentleman who had never heard of "Ein feste Burg."

of the divine nature of Christ, and suggested that if the Editor of the *Lutheran* needed information on this subject there were plenty of German pastors in Pennsylvania able to give it to him! The *Lutheran* of October 27th contained an article confessing that the Editor had written on insufficient acquaintance with the facts, and offering to print a correct account of the movement. This was supplied by Dr. Spaeth, and printed without comment in the *Lutheran* of November 10th. On the twenty-fourth of November, however, in a second article on the Temple Colonists, Dr. Seiss states that having read Hoffmann's book, "The Guide to Lasting Happiness," 1878, which he finds "intensely mystical," sectarian and unchurchly, and being now informed of the facts, he has no sympathy whatever with the movement.

A discussion too courteous to be called a controversy, is thus described by Dr. Jacobs: "In the *American Historical Review* for January, 1904, an address delivered by Henry Charles Lea, LL. D., as President of the American Historical Association, at its annual meeting in the preceding December, on 'Ethical Values in History,' appeared. The author was well known for a number of historical works, especially his 'History of the Inquisition,' 'History of Auricular Confession,' and 'History of Sacerdotal Celibacy,' that placed him in the first rank of American historical writers, and gave him a world-wide reputation, as a most industrious collector of facts, and a most careful and discriminating scholar. In this address, Dr. Lea, in criticizing the spirit of religious persecution, intimated that even Luther was not free from the charge. He said (*American Historical Review,* IX: 239): 'If the canon law required sovereigns to put heretics to death, Luther in 1528 subscribed to a declaration of the Wittenberg theologians prescribing the same fate for those whom they classed as such.'

"Dr. Spaeth having read the article with much interest,

turned to Melanchthon's works in the *Corpus Reformatorum,* and, finding the document referred to, saw at once that the punishment there advocated was directed against certain revolutionary agitators of the time, not because of their heretical opinions but because they fomented insurrection against the civil government. He accordingly wrote Dr. Lea a letter directing attention to the injustice done Luther by his misinterpretation of the passage to which he alluded.

"To this, Dr. Lea replied very promptly and candidly that he had derived his information, not at first hand, but from a recent German brochure, whose title he gave. He promised to give the matter his very careful attention and investigation. A few months later, Dr. Lea fulfilled his promise, and sent Dr. Spaeth a list of historical references showing that the statement made in the address, so far as Luther was concerned, was incorrect. It need scarcely be said that the incident was highly creditable to Dr. Lea, and exalts his reputation as an historian."

The *Lutheran* of November 18, 1909, notes the death of Dr. Lea, as the occasion of the presentation by Dr. Spaeth, to the Krauth Library, of that author's "History of the Inquisition in Spain," four volumes. "This timely gift recalls the warm controversy which Dr. Spaeth had with the late distinguished historian concerning Luther's attitude on religious persecution. . . . . Although the controversy was carried on by correspondence and with the utmost courtesy, it was none the less animated, and Dr. Lea was finally convinced that Luther's own writings were sufficient to controvert his point of view."

THE ROOSEVELT AFFAIR

Toward the end of 1908, immediately after the election of Mr. Taft, President Roosevelt wrote a very indiscrete

reply to one of many letters asking information as to Mr. Taft's religious convictions and sympathies, in which he stigmatized it as un-American, as "narrow and unwarrantable bigotry" for anyone to decline voting for a Roman Catholic as President. This letter had the unqualified approval of Cardinal Gibbons, who "knew it was coming out," but it raised a storm of opposition among prominent Protestant bodies, the objectionable point being not the religious belief, as such, of a Roman Catholic, but the official declarations and assumptions of the Church itself, and its claim for universal dominion as the prerogative of the Pope.

The New York Pastoral Conference of the Missouri Synod at once sent an open letter of protest to the President, which was endorsed by the Philadelphia pastors. Dr. Spaeth, as chairman of a joint committee of both Pastoral Conferences wrote a long letter to the President, acknowledged, even by Romanists, to be the strongest paper published in this affair.* A war of words followed in the daily papers, between individuals of various denominations and prominent Romanists, who made great efforts to evade certain citations from Papal Bulls, or to represent them as entirely harmless. Most of them carefully avoided the real issue.

Dr. Spaeth later prepared "Theses on Church and State," for the Pastoral Association, which were published December 21, 1908. After clearly stating the relation between the civil power and the Church, based on our Lord's separation of the things of Cæsar from the

* In an article, "Staat, Kirche und Stimmrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," Dr. Spaeth gave a very concise account of the whole matter, and said: "We do not expect a reply. We know that the President cannot give an answer without entering upon things which do not pertain to his office. He has no call, as an official of our government, to fight against the false theories of Romanists, and their principles concerning Church and State."

things of God, and referring to the history of a thousand years of conflict between Pope and Emperor, the Theses give the protest of the Augsburg Confession against the "confusion of the power of the Church and the power of the sword" as essentially describing the relation of Church and State in our land, formally recognized and guaranteed in our Constitution. Thesis VIII. then says: "It is needless to raise that purely academic question, what a Roman Catholic President might possibly do in the administration of his office. Roman Catholicism has practically almost all the power it craves. Nevertheless, we are convinced by the overwhelming testimony of centuries, that the Church of Rome is essentially a political organization, a State within a State, a world power that claims a controlling influence in secular affairs as well as in purely religious and spiritual matters.

"When, therefore, a President of the United States sends a message to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, saying: 'I am most happy because of the good relations existing between the Vatican and this government,' he does a most un-American thing, recognizing certain peculiar official relations between 'this government' and the head of a powerful Church in these United States, that head being a foreigner, an Italian."

THE EX-PRESIDENT AND THE VATICAN

When Mr. Roosevelt was first elected Vice-President, Dr. Spaeth was very cautious in endorsing him fully, suspecting "Jingoism" in his political tendencies. After he became President, the same friend to whom Dr. Spaeth had spoken on the subject, asked him, "What do you think of Roosevelt *now?*" and received the impulsive answer, "I *love* him!" This affectionate attitude shows very plainly all through the article in the *Lutheran* of April 14, 1910, King, Pope, Ex-President and Metho-

dism, which explains how the American "enfant terrible" planned a delightful interview with His Majesty of Italy and the Holy Father together, and also why he failed to attain his desire. Even his alternate proposal, to see the King on Monday and the Pope on Tuesday, "was not to be thought of in the Vatican." "The King first, and the Pope second! Ah! there was the rub! The moon first, and the sun second! A visit to the Pantheon, after the King's audience, and a wreath deposited at the tomb of Victor Emanuel I., the 'Robber King,' the 'Arch-Banditto' as he is styled in the Vatican, and then a visit to the Pope, the very victim of that King's spoliation! It would have meant the surrender of all the principles contended for, during these last forty years.

"It was surely a most perplexing situation for the diplomats of the Pontiff's court. It would never in the world have done to state the real difficulty. But if the appearance could be created of placing him under certain conditions, putting him, so to speak, on his good behavior, the fearless Nimrod would at once become recalcitrant, and the Vatican would be relieved from this embarrassing complication. And here comes in—Methodism, as a veritable *deus ex machina,* for King, Pope and Ex-President! The 'Holy Father hopes that nothing will arise to prevent the audience, such as the much regretted incident which made the reception of Mr. Fairbanks impossible.' This gratuitous introduction of the Methodist embroglio in Mr. Fairbanks' case, was absolutely uncalled for in connection with Mr. Roosevelt. He was no Methodist. . . . The Vatican diplomats were well aware what effect such a statement must have on a character like Theodore Roosevelt. It was an exceedingly clever trick to make the Methodists both the scapegoat and the big stick, to put an end to his Papal audience after his demonstrative visit in the Quirinal.

"It might be well for our Ex-President, in the light

of his recent Roman experiences, once more to read over a certain letter, addressed to him by Lutheran pastors in December, 1908. He will now be better prepared to realize the true character of the Roman Hierarchy, as presented to him in that letter, with abundant historical evidence. He might even be ready to understand now, that the 'Vicar of Christ' in Rome who calls himself the 'servant of servants' claims, in fact, to be the Ruler of rulers, in the monarchies of the old world as well as in the republics of America."

An editorial in the following *Lutheran* states that Dr. Spaeth's prophetic revelation of the Vatican's real attitude toward Mr. Roosevelt's reception, has been sustained by the official announcement, that the Vatican "did not wish Mr. Roosevelt to *bracket* the Pope with other more or less royal personages he will boast of having hunted in Europe, after his African hunt."

CHAPTER XI

THE GERMAN AMERICAN

1864-1910

> Wir sind nicht hier, um eine abgesonderte deutsche Nationalitaet zu bilden, sondern, um zur Bildung der grossen amerikanischen Nation unseren Antheil redlich beizutragen. Wir haben als Deutschgeborene sehr werthvolle Characthereigenschaften mit uns in dieses Land gebracht. Bilden wir aber uns nicht ein, dass wir als die idealen Mustermenschen herueber gekommen sind, dass wir hier nicht viel zu lernen haben. . . . . Verhehlen wir uns nicht, dass wir, um als amerikanische Buerger das zu werden was wir sein sollen, durch einen Prozess zu gehen haben, ... einen Amerikanisierungs-Prozess, der keineswegs in einer vollstaendigen Entdeutschung besteht, sondern darin, dass wir das Beste des deutschen National-Characters bewahren und es durch die Annahme des Besten des amerikanischen National-Characters ergaenzen.—*Carl Schurz.*

These words of the "greatest German-American" quoted by Dr. Spaeth in whole or in part, more than once, define his position perfectly: the persistent love and veneration due to his Mother, Germany, which in no wise conflict with the love and loyalty due to his Bride, America.

WE ARE NOT HERE TO FOUND A NEW GERMAN NATION

"In externals the first German immigration under Pastorius was truly a wretched and beggarly beginning. Industrious workers, artisans and farmers these men

undoubtedly were; just, peaceable, upright, easy to live with; but not specially gifted intellectually—in spite of Pastorius and his 'Beehive' *—and withal very remarkable Saints, with their hermits and cloister-communities. Verily their history is a cabinet of curios for the collector, rather than the archives of epoch-making events. But even if it were a wretched beginning, that first immigration was a spring of powerful vitality, destined to flow without ceasing down the centuries to this day, and to give to the new composite nationality of America hundreds of thousands of its best sons.

"By the middle of the eighteenth century the stream of German immigration had attained such proportions that the English speaking colonists of Pennsylvania were seriously concerned for the future of their mother tongue. On a very moderate computation the Germans in Pennsylvania at that time numbered 90,000 out of a total population of about 190,000. The well known Dr. William Smith, first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, feared that the Legislature would be forced to engage an official interpreter, in order that one-half of the law-givers might be able to understand the other half! Even Benjamin Franklin, otherwise so sensible, so cool and sound in his judgment, was for a time infected by this Germanophobia. In 1751 he wrote: 'Why should the Palatinate boors be allowed to swarm into our settlements, and, by herding together, establish their language and manners to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a

* Pastorius was thoroughly familiar with eight languages, had published seven books, and left 43 in Ms. A list of their titles is contained in the "Beehive," a large folio compiled by Pastorius for his children, a cyclopedia of useful knowledge, especially concerning religion, ethics, language, history and biography. It contained also many inscriptions, epitaphs, proverbs, poems and enigmas, his own or selected. Pastorius remarked that in 1676 his hive "enclosed about 2,000 little honeycombs."

colony of aliens who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, instead of our Anglicizing them?' Franklin was wise enough afterwards to see the mistake he had made in his unfriendly estimate of the German element, and publicly acknowledged the usefulness and blessing of the German immigration to the Province of Pennsylvania.

"A century later one of our German pastors, Rev. Georg Carl Holls, formulated this problem so concisely and strikingly, that in 1902 the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education quoted him literally: 'We hear so much of the so-called mission of the Germans in America. In my opinion the first mission of the Germans in this country is to become Americans. It is their duty as well as their privilege, to enter deeply, heartily and with all the fervor and steadfastness of Teutonic manhood into the current of American religious, political and social life. There is no room in this country for a German nation beside an American nation, and if there were, neither this country nor the Germans would be the gainer by the establishment of one.' " (Festrede, October 6, 1908.) *

WE ARE TO HELP IN BUILDING UP THE AMERICAN NATION

"The German race has surely a higher destiny than merely to form an exceptionally good fertilizer for the field of the American nation. We respect all that the diligence, the endurance, the brawn and brain of German workers have accomplished in this country, in agriculture and the industries. What would that part of our United

* Where Dr. Spaeth's miscellaneous Addresses and Festreden have not been published in full, these extracts are made from reports by the daily press, preserved by him, and carefully corrected and annotated by his own hand.

States be, from Pennsylvania to the Basin of the Mississippi, the granary of the world, without the conservative German farmer, who does not exhaust the virgin soil by careless tillage, but who loves his work and strives, by wise and patient labor, to cultivate his acres so that they may increase in value and usefulness!

"Nor do we forget what a gallant part the brave German spirit and the strong German fist have always taken in the national and political struggles of our Republic; in her early difficulties, as well as in her gigantic battle for self-preservation. On the eve of the Revolution an appeal was sent out from Philadelphia to the Germans in the other colonies which bears witness to the burning patriotism of the Germans in Pennsylvania. This document of forty pages, of which only two copies are still in existence, bears the title: 'Schreiben des Evangelisch-Lutherischen u. des Reformirten Kirchenraths, wie auch der Beamten der Teutschen Gesellschaft in der Stadt Philadelphia, an die deutschen Einwohner der Provinzen New York und Carolina. Philadelphia, 1775.' In it is stated that everywhere in Pennsylvania bands of militia are forming among the Germans, and a picked troop of sharp shooters stand ready to march; and that those who are not fit for military service willingly contribute to support the good cause. The Germans throughout the land are called upon to join the national movement, and to rise against the despotism and oppression of the British government.

"But of far greater value in our estimation is the part which the Germans have taken in supplying the spiritual needs of our people, and in the development of a higher culture among them. The German school, especially the German parish-school with its training of heart and conscience, has done a great work for millions of German descent. The German Universities have furnished us Professors, Pastors, teachers and intellectual

leaders, men who have brought rich treasures of learning to this western land. German libraries have found their way over to us. American wealth has secured them for America, but the accurate knowledge of German scholars and their love of investigation have collected them." (Festrede, October 6, 1908.) "These collections of books are not merely the product but also the tools of German research and erudition. They represent an enormous intellectual capital, which, if rightly employed, has a far greater value for the future of our land than the strong sinewy arms of our German laborers and artisans. We may be sure that the practical, progressive American has not transplanted hither such valuable books, for the sake of letting them grow dusty and yellow in handsome alcoves and cases. They will bear rich fruit in the culture and development of this new world." (Address at opening of the Bechstein Germanic Library of the University of Pennsylvania, March 21, 1896.)

THE OTHER GERMANIC BRANCHES

"We are well aware that in this country we have to do with the World's Melting-pot of nationalities, in which, when we only consider abstract right, one has just as much to say as another. Nor do we forget that the Romanic and Slavic nations, with the Germans, Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons all belong to the one Indo-European family. But nevertheless we are firmly convinced, that the Germanic element, by which we mean Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons and Germans, together will decide the future of America,—will and must remain its head and heart if it is to fulfill its mission in the world's history. We are also well aware of the tremendous advantage that the Anglo-Saxon element has gained, among these three branches, in the history of our land. And we have no reason whatever to find fault with this. We

have it to thank for the basis of our constitutional government, its parliamentary usages, its democratic form. We have it to thank also for the English language, which will undoubtedly always remain the dominant language in America. But granting all that, we must insist that America as such is to be no New England, any more than it is to be New Sweden or New Germany, but just America; an America, however, that will owe its true greatness, its freedom and culture essentially to the Germanic spirit." (Address: Opening of Bechstein Library.)

WHAT THE GERMANS HAVE BROUGHT TO AMERICA

"The modest colony under Pastorius has become a broad, deep, fertilizing stream, which has mightily influenced the shaping of the American nation and its State polity; which has contributed to every department of its achievement or aspiration strong-armed, clear-headed men, earnest, thoughtful spirits, true, patriotic hearts, on which the Republic of the United States may congratulate itself, and of which the German American may justly be proud. Modesty is certainly a beautiful trait, one of the noblest virtues, where the worth and accomplishment of the individual are concerned. But where the recognition of national assets, gifts and advantages are in question, of what we as a race have inherited from our fathers, there modesty has its limitations. I may and must be conscious of what, as a German, I owe to my German home; to her atmosphere and her spirit; to her history and culture; to her poetry and music; to her rich, deep character. I must realize what treasures I have obtained from German sources, and brought with me to this new home which I love from my heart; whose good I seek; to which I belong as a loyal citizen, with all that I am and have; and which I

Esslingen. Altstadt and Burg

can surely serve so much the better, the more faithfully I maintain and guard the best qualities that belong to me as a German.

"The leading journals of England, Russia, France, and not a few even of our American papers, seem utterly incapable of doing justice to German character, German history, the mission of Germany, and what she has done.* And yet it is a marked feature of German national character, objectively and impartially to admit the good points of other nations, and to credit them with all that is really fine and valuable. So, we think, it is a poor rule that does not work both ways. We do not demand a 'Mutual Admiration Society.' But, as German citizens of these United States we are convinced,—and we know that it is not imagination but simple historical fact—that the German element that has streamed into this country for more than two hundred years, has been not a detriment but a great blessing to our land. We know that we love and cherish our new home, that we agree heartily with the principles on which the Constitution of this Republic rests. And just as our love be-

*"It is verily no credit to us (Americans) nor is it a blessing, if we look at all the world, especially at European complications, only through English spectacles, and allow the Times and other Thunderers on the Thames to prepare for us (vorkauen!) our judgment on the happenings of the day. In a land which numbers among its inhabitants ten, or perhaps twenty millions of pure German descent, it should be looked upon as a matter of course that every able newspaper should have on its staff men who can read a speech in the Reichstag at Berlin or a communication from a German Minister in the original, and translate it correctly without English intervention." (Bechstein Address.) It is hardly credible that a few years before this suggestion was made a prominent journal in New York could print seriously:

"Wer nie fein Brod mit Traechnen azz,
Wer nie die kumpelvollon naechte,
Auf seinem Bedde vienand sazz,
Der kaemmt euch nicht, Ihr himmlischen Maegde."

longs to this new home, the Fatherland of our children, so we desire on the part of our new fatherland—not cheap compliments of the politicians,* but the honest, well-grounded esteem of the best among our fellow-citizens." (Festrede, October 6, 1900.)

WE NEED NOT BE DE-GERMANIZED, BUT MUST BECOME AMERICANIZED

"I am a German in America, and as such 'Nihil Germani a me alienum puto.' To prepare the way for a real mutual understanding between America and the German spirit and to help in bringing it about, has always seemed to me a task worthy of the noblest minds. . . . How shall we best contribute to this end? First of all by showing an appreciative love for this country, for its people and their position in the world's history; not by hasty criticism of things which seem to us at first strange and new, but by kindly sympathy with the peculiar nature and conditions of this land, and its people, and the problems set before them. But the German who comes to America must do so with the honest intention to become a *bona fide* American. We must do justice to all that is truly great and good in the institutions, the customs, the character of the new home. It is the special gift of Germans to understand the peculiarities of others, to put themselves in their place. . . . . .† This gift, in excess, may easily become a weak side of the national character, when the interest of the Germans in anything, and their apprecia-

* A presidential election was in progress, and the German vote was of great importance.

† This accounts for the wealth and perfection of translations into German in every department of the world's literature, especially of the English. In no country is Shakspere so at home, as in Germany." (Same Address.)

tion of it, are in direct proportion to its distance or exoticism. (Fremdartigkeit.) And yet, this trait of the German character is a strong point when the entrance on a new world is involved, including the necessary absorption into its national life. In this connection I may also refer to the sound historical sense which distinguishes the German above all others, ... and which especially fits him to understand America with its historical development, its problem in the world's history, —and to devote himself with enthusiasm to the land of his adoption. Only when we have so appropriated the specific character of this new world,—and to this the full possession of the English language must be reckoned —can our own gifts become influential." (Address: Der deutsche Paedagoge, delivered in the University of Pennsylvania, before the National Association of German-American Teachers, 1900.)

" 'It is the greatest mistake to think that by the emigration of so many of her sons Germany is weakened, and vast numbers are lost to German thought and feeling. That which is best in German thought and feeling is, on the contrary, strengthened and rejuvenated, and receives a new lease of life in a wider and grander sphere, by being absorbed and becoming part of the thought and feeling of this nation, which is the people of the future.' " (G. C. Holls, quoted in Festrede, October 6, 1908.)

"The real question of our country was not, as Franklin put it, whether the Germans should become Anglicized or the English Germanized; but, whether the English as well as the Germans should become Americanized, and with them all the later arrivals, of every tongue and nation, from the ends of the earth." (Festrede, October 6, 1908.) "Immigration always means the death of the immigrant's nationality. It is only material to be absorbed in the greater national life of the new country.

. . . . I speak as a German, and I know that this death of one's own nationality is no easy thing. It is something tragic, something pathetic, and yet, from the very nature of the case, it is absolutely necessary." (Sermon at G. C., Fort Wayne, 1893.)

"We older ones, Americans who were born and raised in Germany, pass through the same double experience as Pastorius did.* With all our love to our new home, we feel always a magnetic attraction to the land where our cradle stood, and where our best energies are so deeply rooted. But, with all that we find to enjoy there, how mightily does the new home draw us back again! When, during our travels, our eye falls on the stars and stripes, in the Alps, on the Rhine, with what warmth of heart do we greet them! † And when we come back, —yes, when we come *home* to the land that is now our second fatherland, how do we set foot on American soil with fresh courage, and take up again, each one in his calling, the work appointed to us here; the work for which God has prepared us, and in which we may become a blessing to our Fatherland, the only one now, that we really have." After referring to the disadvantages under which most immigrants labor, growing out of the lack of English, especially, Dr. Spaeth continued: "But what has been denied to us, more or less, in the first generation, we must try to become to our country, fully and completely in our children, especially in our

* Dr. Spaeth had just quoted Pastorius' poem as translated by Whittier: "Hail to Posterity! . . . . Farewell dear Germany!"

† In the summer of 1879 Dr. Spaeth was driving with his brother and other German relatives over a narrow mountain road, when they passed a carriage full of tourists, who had decorated their equipage with a small American flag. He rose, waved his hat, with a "Hurrah for the Stars and Stripes!" upon which the strangers also rose, and woke the echoes with a mighty cheer. "Such an enthusiasm for the flag we never saw!" said his astonished companions.

sons. We must give them the valuable double equipment, the language and culture which the father brought with him,—and of which the son has verily no need to be ashamed,—and the English language and training, which will make them, as American citizens, a blessing to the land of their birth. So shall the difficult problem of the blending of national characteristics be solved, and a goodly heritage secured to our country for all coming generations." (Festrede, October 6, 1901.)

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION AND THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

Many of Dr. Spaeth's clerical brethren did not share his broad-minded attitude toward America, and showed their German fealty only too often by suspicion and distrust of everything English. In an article written by the distinguished German (Reformed) theologian, Dr. H. Dalton, the dedication of the Mt. Airy Seminary at the opening of the new dormitory (1889) is described. After a glowing tribute to the charming October day, the fine location and natural advantages of the Seminary, and to the enthusiasm of the great assembly gathered on the campus, he says: "An attentive eye and ear could detect a light undercurrent of feeling, denoting a crisis not yet passed, but rather showing itself just now, in renewed strength and vigor. It is the serious Language Question, which seems destined to form an important issue in this particular branch of the Lutheran Church in America. The question goes deeper than the mere fact of the continually growing gain of the English language over the German, and how best to resist it, or, more wisely, to accommodate ourselves to it. How far will it be possible, in giving up the German language, to retain a warm, vital contact with the German Reformer? The Church named after him has clung to

this most German of Germans, in closest living connection. If now, a daughter of this Church, transplanted from German soil, finds herself compelled to relinquish the German language, will not the sympathy and understanding for this strongly stamped personality, which the Church has so tenaciously preserved, gradually disappear?

"Dr. Spaeth, President of the General Council, was the last speaker in the forenoon. . . . . He is too frank and independent a nature not to lay his finger quite openly on the tender point of the approaching crisis. He spoke German, and his address showed him to be a German through and through; and yet it emphasized most decidedly the necessity of keeping our eyes open to the encroachment of the English language, and of meeting the inevitable destiny like men. He spoke severely of those German families who quickly throw overboard their German heritage and the mother tongue together, and cannot rapidly enough become Americanized in their homes and in the bringing up of their children. If the family grows up with no language but the English, it is the duty of the Church to reckon with this fact,—a deplorable fact as the speaker considered it. It is worthy of note that this decided champion of the course taken by the General Council,* in his own house, among his

* Dr. Dalton apparently refers to the effort to co-ordinate English and German in the Seminary. Or he may have in mind the session of the General Council in Chicago, 1886, when, in deference to the Swedish delegations, the English language was accepted as common ground for all members. W. K. F. wrote soon after this meeting: "In a mixed assembly like the Council, linguistic preferences, as well as national prejudices, must be resolutely cast aside. Dr. Spaeth has set a good example. His opening sermon was in English, not, let us believe, because the Council met in an English church, but because in German the sermon would have failed to be understood by the Council as a whole. The Doctor also, especially after he learned of the difficulties of the Swedish

large family of children, admits only the German language as mother tongue, and this in spite of the fact that it has forced both of his wives to use a language in which they were not entirely at home."

In his address: Der deutsche Paedagoge in America, Dr. Spaeth speaks of the German language thus: "It may seem superfluous to urge an assembly of German teachers not to neglect the cultivation of their mother tongue, for their work in this new home. But I am not speaking now of German as taught in schools or institutions with which we may happen to be connected, or as the means of communication in the family. I have in mind the cultivation of German, the ever deepening research into the inexhaustible richness of our mother tongue, for the sake of our personal culture, for the preservation of the good qualities and gifts which we, as Germans, have brought with us, and with which we may do our little part in improving and elevating our new home. Many of you will understand me when I say from my own experience: the more I am forced to use English in my public occupations so much the more necessary do I find it, from year to year, to become more absorbed in my dear mother tongue, to go more deeply into her spirit and essence. Therein lies for us, a prime factor in our conservation as true Germans in the best sense."

Dr. Spaeth's Swabian origin, and his sense of humor made him very appreciative of genuine dialect. He read Plattdeutsch for his own entertainment, but those who ever heard him read a Schwaebische Geschichte aloud, would not soon forget it. Even negro dialect he could enjoy, if well read, but woe to anyone who quoted

delegates, not only repeated in English motions made originally in German, but also took pains to re-state in both languages, motions made in English."

Hans Breitmann with humorous intention! For him and his kind he had nothing but profound contempt.

DR. SPAETH AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

In 1885 Dr. Spaeth took out his naturalization papers, and thenceforth performed his duty as citizen with the same thoroughness and conscientiousness that characterized all that he did. He voted according to his conviction rather than on party lines, in the ward as faithfully as in a presidential election. To the best interests of Philadelphia, his first and last home in America, he was keenly alive, and his name was often found on committees for some public service, or among prominent men in social gatherings. In addition to German papers he read the *Public Ledger* daily, sometimes with a wrath which boiled over now and then; as in an item that he wrote on the Subig Bay incident, or when the uncurbed skittishness of the "War Lord" (at forty years or more) was unduly emphasized. To the University of Pennsylvania which, in its history and growth, has kept pace with Philadelphia, his relations were always very cordial. From it he received his degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1875, and two of his sons are among its Alumni. The position of Chaplain was offered to him while he was in Capri, and again after his return to America, but his many engagements obliged him to decline this honor. Two of his best non-political addresses were delivered in its halls, and on one occasion he made the opening prayer and gave the Benediction at Commencement. On February 22, 1905, the Diary notes: "I went to the Academy of Music to the celebration of University Day on Washington's Birthday, where the President of the United States and the German Kaiser were made LL. D. It was an imposing ceremony, and the Hurrahs for the 'Emperor' left nothing to be desired!"

June 19, 1907, Dr. Spaeth was made an honorary member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society,* in recognition of his scholarly and literary eminence. At the banquet given on this occasion by the University Chapter, "his address was the feature of the evening. He spoke in a delightfully reminiscent vein of his Tuebingen days, referred to his ties with the University through Dr. Krauth, and then dwelt on the intimate relation between theology and learning, and the debt that universities and scholarship owe to theology. His humor, his personal charm, his youthful enthusiasm, and the genuine eloquence and fervor of his close completely captivated his audience. A noted after-dinner speaker said to me later: 'That was the best speech I ever heard. Can your father talk as well as that in German?' " (J. D. S.)

LINCOLN AND BISMARCK

As a very young man Pastor Spaeth had said: "Lincoln made me an American!" His first public address, as distinguished from regular sermons, was the oration on the death of Lincoln, delivered in Zion's church. His last lecture, in the hall of the German Society, was on Lincoln and Bismarck, (February 12, 1910.) His admiration for the Great Chancellor is well known, but going home after this lecture he said: "Now that I have studied these two men side by side, I place Lincoln first!" In this connection it is interesting to find, in the address of Carl Schurz at the great memorial to Bismarck (New York, October 18, 1898), these words: "We cannot speak of Bismarck as a man of the people in the

* Among other Societies of which he was a member may be mentioned: the American Historical Association; the American Society of Church History, 1907; the Historical Academy of the Lutheran Church; the Association for the Study of the History of the Reformation, Dr. J. Koestlin of Halle, President; and Der Allgemeine Deutsche-Sprachverein.

same sense in which we apply this title to our Abraham Lincoln. Not that he was lacking in a warm feeling for his fellow-men; but he did not believe in the ability of the people to govern themselves. Neither his political views nor his methods of governing were adapted to the building up of a free state, or to the development of self-government in a people."

CARL SCHURZ

It is not at all improbable that, even as a child, Adolph Spaeth was familiar with this name, with the daring escape from Rastatt, and the still more daring return to rescue Gottfried Kinkel. Be this as it may, his admiration for Schurz as a man and an orator dates back to the very beginning of his own life in America. His Memorial Address, October 6, 1906, contains the following characterization of Carl Schurz. "For more than forty years I have looked up to this man with sincere admiration. . . . . Only in the later years of his life did I have the great pleasure of coming nearer to him personally, and of exchanging ideas with him in conversation * and by letter. How could it be otherwise than that my feeling toward this revered man grew always warmer, the more fully the picture of him was unveiled: an earnest, upright, solid German, richly endowed, broad in culture, a superior nature, with eye and ear open to all that was beautiful and genuine, with a warm faithful heart, glowing in devotion to his ideal of freedom and right; a man who, when his path led him to this land, set his whole energy not merely on becoming

* In 1899 he writes: "A few weeks ago I had the honor and pleasure of an invitation from our University Club to dine with Carl Schurz. The host placed me at Schurz's right hand, so that I could enjoy his brilliant and interesting conversation all evening." (A. S. to E. W.)

something and winning something for himself in this new world, but, above all, on serving his new fatherland with his great talents, with all his acquirements, with the uncompromising firmness of his German conscience.

"In the whole history of our country I do not know another important leader who can compare with our Carl Schurz in genuine, fine, comprehensive culture, in breadth of view, in stern morality, and in true statesmanly wisdom. . . . . He was an Idealist in the best sense of that word, but at the same time a Realist, who, with tireless energy, fearless and indomitable, sought to bring his ideal into practical life, and to make it tell there." After giving a sketch of Schurz's early life, of his devotion to his teacher-friend Kinkel, and the romantic rescue from Spandau, Dr. Spaeth spoke of an interview seventeen years later, between Schurz and Bismarck. "They talked together, pleasantly and informally, and Bismarck asked Schurz to tell him all about this escapade. Anyone who knows Bismarck will not be surprised that he was highly entertained by the story, and that when it was finished the Great Chancellor confessed: 'In your place I should have done exactly the same thing!' "

The story of Schurz's life in London, where his intercourse with hundreds of exiles from all countries of Europe, many of them dreamers or fanatics, soon convinced him that there is something better in this world than "Castles of theory on foundations of fog" (C. P. K.), his emigration to America, his speedy and wonderful mastery of the English language, his political career, are all well known or easily accessible facts on which we need not dwell. Not so readily accessible are the tributes of the current press immediately after his death, which Dr. Spaeth considered worth preserving. "In the choice of an Ideal there was given to him the rare, almost unique, experience, of cherishing to the end of

his long life that for which he had fought in his youth and in the fulness of his mature powers." "Notwithstanding his achievements in public place, it is a question if his greatest influence was not due to his lofty conception of citizenship, to the upholding of which he devoted his splendid energies." "He had an unconquerable propensity for the right side in morals and in politics." "As a citizen he was a power for the cause he deemed right, and when he found that changing circumstances had made necessary a change of attitude, without weak apology he changed his mind, and was ready to defend his course." * "The party was to him always the means to an end, never the end itself." "If we were to match Schurz's career with that of any other man from Continental Europe who came hither full grown and became a power in American politics, we would need to go back to the time of Albert Gallatin." †

IMPERIALISM

June 20, 1899. "The course of our American history during the past year, with the 'imperialist' fever which has seized the popular masses has been and still is, a great cross to me. My love and respect for America and my high opinion of her mission in the world's history have been hard hit by this development. Especially do I consider the attempt to keep the Philippines under American control by force, a betrayal of all the

* "A false pride of consistency is the surest mark of a little, opinionated pragmatist, of the dumb watch among thinkers, whose hands are fixed at one, and who keeps them there because he has no spring within him to move them."—(C. P. K.)

† Born at Geneva 1761, emigrated 1780, died in Astoria, N. Y. 1849. Member of Congress, Secretary of the Treasury, Minister to France and to England, one of the American Commissioners at the Treaty of Ghent; author of various political and ethnological works, one of the greatest financiers of the age.

admonitions in the world's history, and of the principles which have made America great. The ripest, most cultivated men of our land are indeed nearly all opposed to the course things have taken, but the noise of the chauvinistic daily papers drowns every quiet, thoughtful word of the better element. . . . . What provokes and alarms me most in this rage for expansion that is now the fashion among us, is the fact that the average American is lacking in two things which seem to me indispensable in a mission that concerns the history of the world, first, a proper historical education to enable him to understand what is going on, in the great theatre of the world, and then at least a moderate pedagogical fitness to undertake the instruction of the public. But the American knows everything, according to his own opinion, and, from the proverb: 'He to whom God gives an office, gets understanding with it,' draws the sweeping conclusion that he who *takes* an office, will somehow find the needful understanding for it!" (A. S. to E. W.) March 26, 1900. "Our political and national 'developments' are substantially as lamentable as ever. . . . . The standards of our average politician are not any principles of international law, not even the interest of our country as a whole, but simply the interests and prospects of his own party. At present his views are determined first by the coming presidential election, and then by the moneyed interest of the ruling Trust Aristocracy, which influences all our legislation, national as well as state.

"A few weeks ago, on Washington's Birthday I heard another excellent speech of Carl Schurz, in which he held up the political principles and ideals of Washington and Lincoln as a mirror for our own time. The saddest thing about our present zeal for party is, that for a man like Schurz there is nowhere an official position open.

He can only utter his prophetical warning, and seek to touch the conscience of the people, high and low. He is himself unalterably an Idealist. In a letter written to me after the above mentioned speech he says: 'It is true that the circumstances under which we are carrying on the fight for honest principles of government do not look encouraging at this moment. But I cannot give up my faith in the inborn sense of honor which the nation possesses. In the forty odd years of my public activity I have had the experience again and again that whatever the final question might be, the appeal to the moral sense of the people was always the most effectual. I am convinced that even now the people will choose the right way if we only succeed in bringing this matter to a fairly simple and clear 'issue.' . . . I confess that this is a political problem that offers great difficulties, but perhaps things may take such a shape as to make it possible to overcome these difficulties. Let us not give up hope so long as we have the slightest chance of success. We will keep up our courage!' Over against this optimism, however, the fact remains, that under the present administration trade and all business have taken an unexampled upward tendency, so that just now the nation will not hear of any change in the government; which means that McKinley's administration will be endorsed for another four years, at the next presidential election. But now that is enough, and more than enough of politics, which we plain parsons cannot change anyhow!" (A. S. to E. W.) February 13, 1901. "I cannot write about politics here without indignation. You will be surprised when I tell you that, in spite of all my dissatisfaction with McKinley's administration, I still voted for him. We had only the choice of two evils, both bad, yet one greater than the other. So I chose the lesser one!" (A. S. to E. W.)

TRIBUTE TO MCKINLEY

Dr. Spaeth's disapproval of President McKinley's policy did not lessen his high estimate of his personal character. On the nineteenth of November, 1901, he made a Memorial address from the text: "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, saith the Lord," using as his theme McKinley's dying words: "God's way, His Will be done." "He had entered upon his office for the second time, elected by a majority of the nation, and the minority had accepted his election as the custom is among us, quietly, contentedly. What had this man done, that the hand of an assassin should be lifted against him? The political Testament that the President left behind him, in his address at Buffalo, deserves all recognition. He counsels fairness, justice, peace; every sentence expresses goodwill to all men. Nowhere does he refer to our might or power. It could be condensed to the one sentence, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' . . . . And for this, such a man is to be shot down, as if he were an enemy to humanity! There were, and are, wise, patriotic men, who did not approve of everything that the President did. But the man himself was esteemed, by Republicans and Democrats, north and south, by all parties. He was a noble man, in character and life a model American, plain and simple, no great genius, but using faithfully what God had given him, honorable, upright, conscientious. His popularity was due to his unaffected, winning way. No one could resist his personal charm. I shall never forget how approachable he was, when I had the privilege of introducing the Leipzig singers to him, in the White House at Washington. In all the pressure of official business how kindly he received these strangers, who did not even understand his language, and wished

them God's blessing on their journey. And what confidence did he place in the nation! That any one of the people could do him an injury was the last thought that would have occurred to William McKinley. Walking one evening in Canton, Ohio, accompanied only by his secretary, he met a Lutheran pastor whom he knew, and whom he kindly invited to join them. During this walk he said: 'That is the advantage of a President of the American Republic, that he can go about in the dark, and need not fear as a monarch must.' " *

THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

"On the fifteenth of May, 1871, our Germans in Philadelphia held a glorious celebration. The fierce conflict between Germany and France had ended in the complete subjugation of the ancient foe of the Empire. How did we, in our church, offer prayer and thanksgiving for

* In the castle gardens in Stuttgart a life-size marble group represents Eberhard im Bart, sleeping with his head supported on a young peasant's lap. Uhland tells the story, dear to all Swabians, in verse. At a banquet given when Eberhard was created first Duke of Wuerttemberg, the other Princes were boasting of their rich mines, their fruitful fields, their great cloisters and cities.

Eberhard, surnamed "The Bearded,"
Wuerttemberg's beloved lord,
Said, "My land hath no great cities,
In its hills no silver hoard,

"But it holds one hidden treasure,
That, in deepest forest shade,
On the lap of any subject,
Fearless I can lay my head."

Cried the listening Princes round him,
Saxony, Bavaria, Rhine,
"Bearded Count, thy land is richest
Where such precious jewels shine."

(Translated, H. R. S., 1905.)

the victory of the Fatherland, and pour out our gifts for the wounded and suffering! On the tenth of May the treaty of peace had been signed in Frankfort, and five days later a great Peace festival was celebrated. On the previous Sunday a thanksgiving service was held in the churches. I preached in St. Johannis from Haggai 2: 9, 'The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former,' and was severely taken to task by my Missourian friends for such a text, to such a sermon, on such an occasion! The celebration on the fifteenth consisted in a magnificent parade of the Germans through the city. From the tower of St. Johannis waved two immense flags, fully thirty feet long, German and American, and when the line on Broad Street reached the point opposite the church, a peal of Victory rang out from all of our bells together. The parade took four hours to pass a given point. Perfect order was preserved throughout." (Erinnerungen.)

Travelling abroad in June, 1871, "we crossed the bridge over the Rhine to Cologne, meeting midway a train from Paris to Berlin, filled with artillery-men of the Prussian Guard, powerful, sunburned, weather-browned heroes, singing lustily: 'Lieb Vaterland, kannst ruhig sein.' And then, all the way up the river toward Wuerttemberg, from village to village, from city to city wherever the eye turned, flags hung from every church tower, reaching down to the ground. On the first Sunday at home how wonderful it was to hear the petition in the General Prayer, where formerly only the reigning house of Wuerttemberg was mentioned: 'Bless the German Emperor, the whole Empire and all of its Princes.' There stood, before my eyes, as an accomplished fact, that of which I had dreamed in childhood and as a youth, the German Kaiser! the German Empire! A tear stole down my cheek and never have I responded to that portion of the prayer with a more earnest and

heartfelt Amen, than in that memorable morning hour in the old Dionysius Church in Esslingen." (Erinnerungen.)

Deutscher Tag, October 6, 1908. "The Germans throughout the world, and especially the German citizens of our great Republic, have been shaken out of their former lethargy by the founding of the German Empire. They have recalled with pride that they are Germans, and that, as Germans, they form a weighty factor in this greatest world-power of the western continent. They have become conscious of their right and their duty, not only to recall what they have contributed to the history of America, but to remind their American fellow-citizens of these facts, instead of allowing them to die out in silence, or to be maliciously perverted or falsified. Only since there has been a Bismarck, and a German Empire across the sea, have we begun to celebrate 'German Day' here." (Festrede in Founders' Week, 1908.)

THE HERO LECTURES

We have alluded in passing to Dr. Spaeth's first German-American address under the auspices of the German Society, at the Memorial to Kaiser Wilhelm, March 24, 1888, in the Academy of Music. The celebration was arranged with great simplicity, the organ being the only instrument allowed. Mr. H. Groeneveld of Zion's was the organist. An audience of nearly three thousand was present. Dr. Spaeth's theme was: Fuer Deutschland durch Kampf zum Sieg! Durch Sieg zum Frieden! His sketch of the long life of Kaiser Wilhelm included the history of Germany during the nineteenth century. A co-temporary account of the address says: "His life-picture of the Emperor contained much that was new and of great value to the ordinary hearer; not general phrases, enlivened with a few anecdotes; not

something to touch the emotions, and draw a few tears; but words that kindled the flame of enthusiasm for all that is noble in the German people, and for its departed ruler." From Dr. B. M. Schmucker's account of the Memorial celebration in the *Lutheran* we quote: "The chief address was delivered by Dr. A. Spaeth, and was a beautiful and touching tribute to the memory of a great man and King. The profound regard and regret expressed were not the less hearty because the speaker was a South German and not a Prussian. A more sincere tribute of affection was nowhere laid on the bier, and it was an evidence of the genuineness of the unification of Germany, and of the happy influence of years spent in America in removing narrowness, and strengthening a pure love for the Fatherland, and showing that it burns as bright in the hearts of true German-Americans as in any on earth."

"This address, which was printed later, and circulated also in Germany, procured for me a warm greeting from the Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, transmitted through the German Consul. The same day that the celebration took place in the Academy, a Philadelphia daily contained a malignant attack on the whole arrangement of the Memorial, and especially on the German speaker! He should not have been a Lutheran because, as is well known, the Hohenzollern had accepted the Reformed faith. Especially should he not have been a man notorious in his own Church for his anti-German sentiment! It is scarcely credible that such an attack could have been written and printed in Philadelphia. Still more incredible is it that a German, a member of the Synod of Pennsylvania could so write, as was actually the case. But we were living then in the unspeakably sad period, when the German Professors of the Philadelphia Seminary were persecuted with implacable hatred, and every means was used to ruin their good name. . .

. . Thank God, that is an old story now, and may be forgotten. But it belongs to history nevertheless.

"Since that time I have repeatedly been called upon by the German Society to speak on festival occasions, especially at the annual celebration of 'German Day,' October 6th, as well as to take part in the lecture courses which the Society usually arranges during the winter, for its members and friends. Where my theme was not already fixed by the date, I have selected it from the occurrences of recent German history, and set before the eyes of my countrymen in America the noble historical characters of our German Fatherland, to whom we owe the founding and upholding of the New Empire. As I became less and less able to get up any enthusiasm for the modern development of American politics with its imperialism, so much the more has my heart turned back, in my old days, to my German home; and the study of such heroic figures as Bismarck, Roon, Moltke and Wilhelm has compensated me for the many disappointments and discouragements arising from the tendency of the new American world-policy.

"I spoke on Bismarck's eightieth birthday, April 1, 1895; and after his death, at the Memorial in the Academy of Music, October 6, 1898; on 'Emperor and Chancellor,' February 24, 1905; on the 'Four-leaved Clover' (Wilhelm, Bismarck, Roon and Moltke), January 10, 1901; and on the 'Better halves of the Four-leaved Clover' (Empress Augusta, Johanna Bismarck, Anna Roon, Marie Moltke), in 1903; on 'Schiller's Germany,' in 1905; on the 'Immigration of Books from Europe to America, and the Significance of Germanistics,' at the opening of the Bechstein Library in the University of Pennsylvania, 1896. I described the 'Way to the New German Empire' at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Emperor at Versailles, January 18, 1896, and the efforts for unity of the German

Patriots in the Revolution of 1848 and 1849, 'Fifty Years Ago,' 1898; and spoke in remembrance of the most ideal of those patriots in my Memorial address on Carl Schurz, German Day, 1906. Of course for these lectures I had a different audience from that in my church, but I felt that I was doing a service both to my German home and to my adopted country, in encouraging my own countrymen and fellow-citizens faithfully to preserve and honor their spiritual German heritage, and thereby to prove themselves and their children valuable material for their new fatherland." (Erinnerungen.)

As lectures belonging to this series, Bismarck as a Christian,* and Lincoln and Bismarck, February 12, 1910, must also be named. In the same general line belong: a lecture on Ernst Moritz Arndt, a Prophet of the German nation, 1871;† Influence of Immigration on the Development of the United States, Deutscher Tag, 1894; "Boer and Briton," 1900;‡ and "Der Zweite Generation," 1901.

"I would like to close this chapter by telling one among the various experiences on these occasions, that was particularly amusing. It was connected with the celebration of German Day in 1897. I had chosen as my theme the word 'German-American,' and, at the beginning of my address, had expressed myself somewhat

* First delivered in St. Johannis, May 1901; in August 1901 on board the steamer Phoenicia; December 8, 1904, in New York; October 19, 1905, English, in Dubuque. In 1902 this lecture was translated for the *Church Review,* and separately printed for private circulation.

† Delivered in Camden, N. J. Printed in the *Deutscher Volksfreund,* July and August, 1871.

‡ Dr. Spaeth was prevented by sickness from delivering this address at the mass meeting of Boer sympathizers in the Academy of Music, January 13, 1900. In March of the same year he delivered it in Doylestown, Pa., and it was published in German and English.

strongly against the so-called hyphenated nationalities. I showed how self-contradictory such combinations must be as a rule, and how impossible it was to conceive of such grouping as German-Italian, German-French, German-English, as a matter of fact. I made an exception of the 'German-American,' however. Now, for that same evening, in the Hall of the German Society, a second address was announced, in English, by my esteemed friend Professor Robert Ellis Thompson, Principal of the Philadelphia High School. He came in a little late, and had not heard the introduction to my address, concerning hyphenated or mixed nationalities. When his turn came he began, in the innocence of his heart, and in the full conviction that he had something to impart that would be particularly interesting to his German-American audience, with these words: 'It is a special pleasure to me to be present this evening at this festival of the German-Americans, for I am myself "German-Irish!" ' Like a bomb these words brought down the house, producing such applause and so much hilarity, that it was some time before the people recovered their composure. Dr. Thompson was himself astonished at the effect of this phrase. He had quite expected to please his audience by introducing himself as 'German-Irish,' but he was not prepared for such an elemental outburst of merriment. After the close of his address, I told him of my opening words, and then he joined heartily in the general mirth, as the humor of the situation dawned upon him. Dr. Thompson's maternal ancestors sprang from a party of German emigrants who, under Queen Anne, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, first settled in England, whence a number of families were transferred to Ireland and remained there, while the others went on to America." (Erinnerungen.)

CHAPTER XII

EUROPEAN TRAVEL

1886-1909

> Travel in the younger sort, is a part of Education: in the elder a part of Experience.—*Bacon.*

Including the first voyage, which brought Pastor Spaeth from Liverpool to New York in July, 1864, he crossed the Atlantic no less than twenty-one times. Of his ten visits to the old home several were official, as in 1886, when he made the round of the principal Deaconess Houses of Germany, in the interest of our Motherhouse, or in 1887 and 1904, when he went as delegate of the General Council to the Allgemeine Conferenz in Hamburg and Rostock. To these brief reference has been made, in connection with the churchly interests represented; but in every journey there was more or less that was purely personal, especially so long as the faithful old mother lived, who never quite became reconciled to the separation from her eldest son. Unless otherwise stated, the notes of his European travels are taken from letters written in English, to Mrs. Spaeth.

THE TOUR OF THE MOTHERHOUSES

June 10, 1886. Rhynland. "It was a surprise to me to find how many of the first cabin passengers are acquainted with German. With very few exceptions, they all understand it even if they do not speak it. For this reason I was requested, on both Sundays, to preach in German after an Episcopal clergyman had read the

Service from the 'Book of Common Prayer.' Last Sunday we closed with a powerful 'Ein feste Burg' in which almost everyone joined." Immediately after landing in Antwerp Dr. Spaeth met Consul Meyer in Cologne. The next day, with two ladies from the Rhynland, he took a "Baedeker tour" in which, of course, the Cathedral came first.

"I had never seen it in bright sunshine, and never before in the glory of its final perfection. O! what a sight it was, as we stood before those beautiful gates, under the shadow of those majestic towers, and walked through the aisles so gloriously lit up by the rays of the sun through the stained glass windows. We listened to a full mass, very well sung in Latin, by the robed priests, but absolutely incomprehensible to the people staring at their richly embroidered vestments. Action! Action! Sacrifice! Sacrifice! And no true *sacramentum!* Man's work everywhere, a very full and dazzling exhibition of it, and God's work, His blessed work through the living word—nowhere! This is the essence of Romanism. From the Dom we went on to the Rathhaus, and to that beautiful specimen of mediaeval architecture, the Guerzenich, the greatest music hall in Prussia. Imagine our surprise when, on paying our admission fee, we were charged two Marks each instead of fifty pfennige as usual, because—the chief rehearsal for the Niederrheinische Music Festival was just being held! And Beethoven's Ninth Symphony which I had never yet heard, and always wished to hear, was about to be played! Of course we paid our two Marks and went in, enjoying for more than an hour this unexpected musical treat."

Hamburg, June 18, 1886. "Yesterday I dined at the residence of Frau Aebtin Schoeberlein, widow of the great Professor Dr. Schoeberlein. She lives with her son-in-law Dr. Lauenstein. Her two daughters, Mrs.

Lauenstein and Mrs. Frommel, are charming young mothers of the very best German type. Herr Karl Frommel is a son of the celebrated Berlin court-preacher, Emil Frommel. We had a most delightful evening, and I was quite touched when Frau Aebtin handed me as a memento of this pleasant occasion, a number of the first copies of those beautiful pictures which Schoeberlein collected for his magnificent work, the 'Hauskapelle,' which has only one drawback, that it is too expensive. They even spoke of entrusting to me the manuscript treasures of Schoeberlein's liturgical and hymnological collections, if I only had time to go over them. A beautiful oil painting of the good and great man hangs on the parlor wall. A nobler and finer face of an old gentleman I have never seen. It is just what one would like the face of a man to be, who was so strong in appreciating the refined and beautiful in the service of our beloved Church. When I reached my hotel I found Dr. Dickhoff from Rostock who, on receiving my card from Hannover, had come all the way from Rostock, six hours by rail, to have a chat with me. We talked until nearly two this morning, and continued to talk at the breakfast table until nine, when I had to leave for Altona."

Eisenach, Sunday, June 20th. "There was no service in Eisenach, owing to Pastor Schubert's absence, so I rose at 4.30 to visit the Wartburg. As a light rain came drizzling down I hesitated a little about the walk, but in spite of the threatening weather it was most delightful. The steepness of the path kept it perfectly dry, and the dense foliage of the trees gave sufficient protection; and then, it was only the mist coming down, and the higher I ascended the more it cleared. By six o'clock I was up on the mountain, and went first to the restaurant for a cup of coffee and a good rest before proceeding to the Burg. Early as I was there were others be-

fore me, already busy with their breakfast when I entered the mediaeval 'Wirths-Stube.' I spent a little over an hour in visiting the Burg. The chief attraction, of course, is the Lutherstube. I cannot describe my emotion when I stood in that little sanctuary, and looked out through the window over the same hills over which Luther had often looked, when he stood at the window saying his evening prayer, as he was accustomed to do. Following the advice of Frau Pastor Schubert I routed the 'Castellanin' out of bed, and, with the help of a silver key of twenty-five cents, made her open the Reformation Rooms for my inspection. They are not generally accessible to the public. The pictures, representing scenes from Luther's life by modern masters, are excellent. I was in high good humor when I marched down the hill making the forest ring with 'Ein feste Burg,' which I sang all through from the first verse to the last.

"I was in good time for the Nueremberg train. The railroad trip through beautiful Thuringia with its wooded hills, peaceful hamlets, and ruins of ancient castles was most interesting, all the more so to me as my Baedeker showed me everywhere the paths of your dear father.* The most important historical point was Coburg with its old fortress where Luther spent the time during the Augsburg Diet, and where he wrote his letter to Haenschen. I took a walk through Nueremberg and enjoyed once more that jewel of mediaeval architecture. But there have been great changes since 1863 when I saw it last. The ring of the old town wall with its towers is entirely surrounded by new, modern streets. It is well that they even left the old landmarks standing, but it is impossible now to get as good and satisfactory a view of them as one would like to have."

* He used on this trip the Baedeker with Dr. Krauth's notes made in 1880.

Thursday, July 1, 1886. "On Tuesday afternoon I went up to Plochingen," he was now in Esslingen, "where two theological and pastoral clubs met. In both I found a number of my old class-mates and acquaintances, among them two of the professors of the University. We had a most delightful time together. I returned to the city in the company of Prelat von Lang, a cousin of Dr. Mann, who was most cordial with me, though, as I was privately told, he had been at first almost afraid of that awfully strict Lutheran, Dr. Spaeth. I am much more generally known this time, through my pamphlet against Pfleiderer, but I must say I have not yet heard an unkind word against myself on this account. Even the friends and relatives of Pfleiderer readily admit that he was entirely too hasty in the publication of things which he could not substantiate.

"That meeting in Plochingen, in its form and spirit, was so unique that I feel a very strong temptation to write out a full description of it for the *Zeitschrift*, or even the *Lutheran*. Some fifteen pastors and professors were assembled, with their wives, in one of the large upper rooms of the hotel. After some conversation accompanied by coffee and beer and smoking, the cigars were laid down for a few minutes, the whole company arose and united in prayer led by one of the ministers. Then they sat down for real theological work. The Greek Testaments appeared on all sides, and one of the ministers read a very elaborate essay on the difficult passage Matthew 13: 10 ff., which was followed by a lively discussion, the ladies knitting and listening, the gentlemen not forgetting to strengthen and compose themselves with their beloved beer and tobacco! A little after seven the serious work of the day was declared to be over. The Testaments disappeared into the pockets, the company once more rose for prayer, and

afterwards fell to, on roast veal, beef, sausage, salad and other good things in a manner which showed that the discussion of those great and solemn themes had not in the least interfered with their appetite. More than ever I was struck with the systematic manner in which we Germans seem to connect the Invisible and the Visible, the heavenly things, transcendent and hard to grasp for the profoundest thinker, and the pleasant realities of this present life which we take hold of as by the 'Wurst-Zipfel' (the tail end of a sausage). After all there is a good deal in the well known definition of the German as a mixture of 'sausage and sentiment.' Only the latter term does not do full justice to the ideal and metaphysical in the German mind.

"Yesterday morning by special invitation of the Decan and the Prelat, who is here for the inspection of the diocese, I attended the annual theological disputation which took place in the Vereinshaus. Theses on the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper had been printed and distributed and all the pastors of the district had sent in their different objections and anti-theses to the Decan, who had arranged them well, and with a full plan and list of all the points made, was able to call up, in every instance, the man who had something to say on that particular point. The last word was always given to the author of the Theses. Decan Kuebel led the proceedings most admirably, with a firm hand. . . . While many good things were said on the different sides presented in the Theses, there was a very marked failure in appreciating the true Lutheran position on this vital subject."

Besides making the round of the Deaconess Houses Dr. Spaeth enjoyed several weeks in Esslingen with his "happy, active and indefatigable" mother, renewing old friendships and forming new ones. The visit of Mrs. Pfatteicher at the same time made it possible to have several family reunions, after years of separation. Many

were the walks and drives to famous spots in picturesque and historic Schwabenland. A trip to Munich with its wonderful art treasures was included in this summer. A lecture on Luther and America (July 18th) was well received, and the suggestion was made that it be repeated in Stuttgart. He writes: "I confess I would rather like to have an opportunity to say a word in Stuttgart, where friend Pfleiderer once delivered his mischievous address before the Pastoral Conference. A propos, I heard that Herr Pfleiderer on being asked why he did not reply to my 'Beleuchtung' confessed that he had not the material with which to refute my statements. Rector Pfisterer seems to have enjoyed my lecture on Luther and America more than anyone else among my hearers. The good friends here seem to be under a peculiar dread that we might make too much of Luther, and yet it would do them so much good if they knew him a little better."

He preached once in the great Stadt-Kirche in Esslingen, to an audience of about four thousand, and also in the Deaconess Church in Stuttgart. "There were, of course, not many outsiders, only a few friends who were particularly interested in me. Among them I found, to my great delight, Prelat Buehrer who ordained me twenty-five years ago, when he was Decan in Waiblingen."

During this visit Dr. Spaeth was keenly interested in the political changes and prospects in his beloved Germany. In Munich he had "watched the drilling in one of the large infantry barracks. There were the young Bavarians led, instructed, scolded, by a—Prussian in Bavarian uniform!" His brother, Dr. Ernst Spaeth, was very active previous to the election of the man whom his district was to send to the Reichstag. "I assisted Ernst in his efforts during the election conflict which was very bitter and excited. I wrote under the

pseudonym 'Der Unparteiische' and Ernst as 'Der alte Bekannte,' and we enjoyed the great pleasure of reading together the furious eruptions of the Democratic Press against those two writers, who seemed to do them great harm. They even discovered a certain family resemblance between the two, though no one has the slightest idea that the two brothers Spaeth are hidden under those names. Well, the day before yesterday the election came off, and the result was a brilliant victory for *our* candidate! I feel quite at home with His Majesty and Bismarck in the consciousness of having exerted myself to send them a truly loyal and German representative of this district to Berlin."

August 10, 1886. "Yesterday evening I went with Ernst to Plochingen to attend a great political meeting. It was a gathering of the conservative and national party to celebrate their recent victory, to which I had also contributed my modest share with my pen. It was a grand affair, flags waving in the breeze, garlands around the pictures of William, Bismarck, Moltke, Unser Fritz, a band of music playing patriotic tunes, and the highest pitch of enthusiasm. It did my heart good to see so many honest and strong men rallying round the flag and firmly resolved to stand up for 'Kaiser and Reich.' Ernst wanted me to address the meeting, and I allowed him to send my name up to the chairman. I did make an address which, in all modesty be it said, electrified the house to an extent to which I never influenced any meeting. The whole audience rose like one man, and taking up my closing words, sang with the greatest enthusiasm: 'Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles!' There was no end of hand-shaking all round, and from every corner of the hall some 'Vetter' turned up, and introduced himself proudly as belonging to the family of the 'orator.' Well, well. It was perhaps a little indiscreet for an American citizen and a

pastor to attend such a meeting. But being there I had to speak, and speak as I did." *

THE CONFERENCE IN HAMBURG

October 6, 1887. "I had not walked fifty steps on the pier when I heard my name called, and Mr. Tormaehlen, the Emigrant Missionary, presented himself with the greetings of Mr. Valentin Lorenz Meyer who is on the Committee for entertaining the members of Conference, and whose guest I am to be during my stay in Hamburg." October 7th. "After dinner I left Hamburg for Kropp, passing through Neumuenster and Rendsburg to Owschlag where I arrived late in the afternoon, and found an open carriage waiting for me, a bright boy of about fifteen years acting as driver. After nearly an hour's drive over the dreary heath and moor which, in the dusk, looked like the ocean itself overhung by a leaden sky, he landed me at the door of the Kropp parsonage, where Mrs. Paulsen gave me a very kind and hospitable welcome. With Pastors Pfaff and Beer who are the principal teachers of the institution I spent a very pleasant evening in conversation about America, our dear Church, the institution in Kropp, the difficulties, dangers, necessities, by which this whole work is surrounded.

"A very bright spot in this journey was a visit to the city of Schleswig, the former capital of the Duchy of Schleswig, for whose recovery so much precious German

* The *Schwaebische Mercur,* October 28, 1909, in calling attention to Dr. Spaeth's seventieth birthday says: "The patriotic speech which he made in Plochingen at the celebration of the victorious election to the Reichstag of the venerable Dr. Adae, will never be forgotten by those who heard it. The joy and pride of Germans living in other countries, over the triumphant unification of the German people, has perhaps never found anywhere more beautiful or more eloquent expression."

blood had been shed. On Saturday afternoon, favored by the most glorious sunshine, we started for Schleswig in the same open carriage which had brought me to Kropp. Pastor Pfaff, Martha Paulsen and Lieschen Pfaff were my companions. The whole scenery of the country, the quaint brick houses with heavy thatched roofs, the earth walls, called 'Knicks,' in the place of our fences,—everything was new to me, and I felt as if I were in a strange country, though it was the land of the most enthusiastic patriotic devotion of my boyhood, of which I had sung myself hoarse a hundred times, and over which I had shed many tears whenever the Danes gained an advantage over the brave Schleswig-Holsteiners who were in those days forsaken by a weak and distracted Germany.

"The scenery around Schleswig itself is most lovely, in striking contrast to the monotonous, dreary heath and moors through which we had come. The town is built around the western end of a narrow inlet, running in from the Baltic Sea for about twenty miles, hardly wider than the Schuylkill at Fairmount Park. The castle of Gottorp, formerly the residence of the Dukes, and the birthplace of the present Russian dynasty, is now turned into barracks for hussars and infantry."

After attending service in Kropp on Sunday morning Dr. Spaeth left for Eutin where he spent two days very happily in the beautiful home of his friend, Dr. Ruperti. On the way to the Conference they spent two hours in the interesting old free Hansa Stadt, Luebeck, reaching Hamburg at six o'clock. "At eight the public reception or 'Begruessung' took place. All the most prominent men received me with the greatest delight, Dr. Kliefoth, Dr. Luthardt, Max Frommel, Professor Dickhoff and others. A place was given me at the President's table, and I had a very pleasant evening." October 12th. "This morning the opening service was held in the large St.

Petri Church. It was indescribably grand and glorious. Our Hauptgottesdienst was most beautifully rendered, the minister intoning, and an excellent choir of men and boys responding in the finest *a cappella* singing. The chorales were accompanied by the full organ and instruments (trombones, kettle drums and trumpets). The sermon was very fine, preached by Pastor Becker of Kiel. All the officiating ministers wore the old mediaeval Hals-Krause, if you know what that is.* I do not think that the 'glory of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,' which was the preacher's theme, ever before shone so fully into my eyes as in this morning's service, when I sang, with tears running down my cheeks and almost choking my voice:

'Zu dem Glauben versammelt hast
Das Volk aus aller Welt Zungen.'

"The great Festmahl in the evening was a grand affair. About four hundred guests sat down in the largest hall of 'Sagebiehl's' which is used for oratorios, concerts, etc. An excellent brass band played favorite tunes, chorales and spiritual Folk-songs and accompanied the assembly when they rose to sing their 'Tischlieder,' 'Lobe den Herren den maechtigen Koenig der Ehren' and others. After dinner we adjourned to another of these large, beautiful halls where friends formed groups, or walked up and down arm in arm, and enjoyed coffee and cigars while a splendid choir of well-trained men's and boys' voices entertained us with some excellent singing. It was 9.30 when Dr. Ruperti and Dr. Luthardt invited me to come along and have a little old-fashioned students' 'Kneip-Abend' with them. They took me to

* A wide, fluted or crimped ruff, made of linen very stiffly starched, and projecting several inches around the neck. More than twenty years later the writer saw it worn by Pastor Cordes in Hamburg.

a typical students' tavern, all furnished in mediaeval style, called 'Malepartus,' where a powerful chorus of fine students' voices greeted the professors from Leipzig and Philadelphia and the Herr Kirchenrath from Eutin. I need not tell you that I entered into the spirit of the occasion most enthusiastically. It was not far from midnight when I reached my quarters, delighted with the manifold experiences and enjoyments of this memorable day. Tomorrow morning at the opening of the second day's principal meeting, the place is assigned to me to make a formal address in behalf of the General Council of the Lutheran Church in North America. Professor Dickhoff was appointed to respond. This arrangement is a marked distinction for the President of the General Council, whose mission they seem determined to make as prominent and important as possible."

October 13th. "This morning I was down before seven hoping to find time to write out a few leading points for my address at eleven. But in vain. A young Mr. S. at once presented himself, who had a hundred and one questions on educational matters in America, and clung to me until I reached Sagebiehl's Hall at ten o'clock! At eleven the main session of the second day began, and after devotional exercises led by my friend Dr. Buettner of the Henrietten Stift, the President, Dr. Kliefoth, introduced me to the audience. I had received *carte blanche* from him to speak as long as I thought proper, and I went on for about forty minutes growing warmer and warmer under the inspiration of the moment. Modesty forbids me to describe fully, even to my wife, the reception which my address found. Dr. Luthardt embraced and kissed me. Dr. Kliefoth made a very happy reply, and, at his suggestion, the whole audience rose to signify their consent to the remarks of the President. It was a wonderful and touching moment as the President of the Conference shook hands with the

President of the General Council amid the cheers of that vast assembly. Dr. Kliefoth tried to add a few words, but tears choked his voice and he was completely overwhelmed. . . . . Dr. Luthardt, in a few remarks which he made in the debate, referring to my address said: 'It was not words we heard, but fire, burning fire we felt poured into our hearts!' It was one of the greatest hours of my life,—perhaps *the* greatest, as far as my public life is concerned." *

A WINTER IN CAPRI

In the fall of 1891, Dr. Spaeth was forced to give up his work entirely and go abroad for six months.† Years of unremitting toil, repeated attacks of asthma, more violent and more prolonged each year, had resulted in complete nervous prostration. "A large company of members of the congregation went with us to the wharf where we shipped on the Belgenland, from Philadelphia for Antwerp. They were in great concern for the life of their friend and pastor. Some of them scarcely hoped to see him again, and when the choir began the parting song: 'Auf Matrosen, die Anker gelichtet!' many a note was stifled by an over full heart. We had quite a numerous and pleasant party of our own. There were my oldest son and his friend Herman Fritschel, who intended carrying on their studies in the University of Leipzig, and my second wife with our three children, the youngest of whom often amused the whole company

* He did not escape without some criticism however. Walking later along the Alster with Dr. Ruperti and his friend the Baroness Beaulieu-Marconnay, the lady began to speak of the address: "You have no idea, Herr Pastor, how much I enjoyed your speech. You were so deliciously schwaebisch!"

† At the meeting of the Ministerium of New York he had asked and obtained provisionally, leave of absence from the Seminary for one year in case his health was not improved by fall.

with his droll ideas. . . . . On reaching home I was most carefully examined by the physicians in the family, my brother in Esslingen, and my brother-in-law Professor Liebermeister of Tuebingen. The diagnosis was: no organic trouble anywhere; nothing but total exhaustion and nervous debility. And the prescription was pleasant to take: off to the Island of Capri for complete rest. For the first time in thirty years I celebrated my birthday at home, and then left Esslingen on the second of November, reaching Naples on the eighth." (Erinnerungen.) For several weeks he was most kindly entertained in the house of Herr Otto Breitling, a friend of his boyhood. Many were the excursions made in the neighborhood of Naples, including Pozzuoli (the ancient Puteoli where Paul landed) and Paestum with its magnificent Doric temples. Here they sang "Ein feste Burg" one Sunday morning. Toward the end of November Dr. Spaeth left Naples for Capri, accompanied by Herr Breitling whose long experience in Italy was of great assistance in securing modest but comfortable quarters in the Hotel Faraglioni, where he remained for three months.

"The air one breathes, at once sea air and mountain air, the rest which one enjoys, the matchless outlook over what is, probably, the most beautiful landscape that is to be found on God's earth, the Bay of Naples, the mild, pleasant temperature which made it always possible to be out of doors,—all gave one from day to day a growing feeling of recovery and returning strength. Now and then we had a little taste of winter weather, when the Tramontana or north wind blew over the Bay, and the snowflakes whirled about Vesuvius. On such days, even in Capri, it was cool and sharp but only on the north side of the Island. If one climbed down over the rocks on the south side, looking out toward Africa, it was always possible to find a nook sheltered from every breath

of air, where one could lie, warmed through and through by the sunshine, and dream whole symphonies in the ever-varied tones of the surf." (Erinnerungen.)

November 24, 1891. "This morning I started to walk to the Villa of Tiberius, but missing the way came to the beautiful 'arco naturale', a magnificent arch in the rocks high above the level of the sea. When I reached the village again on my way home, finding it was not yet ten o'clock I made a second attempt to reach the 'Tiberio' and this time I was successful. The ascent is very pleasant and gradual. Whatever may have been the character of that grim old tyrant, Tiberius certainly showed wonderful pluck and taste in perching this eagle's nest straight up among the rocks, 1240 feet perpendicularly above the level of the water. And what gigantic and gorgeous buildings this 'villa' must have contained! The arched ceilings, the thick, strong walls, the pretty mosaic floors testify to it even at the present day. I had a pleasant chat with the old monk who lives there as an eremite, keeping up a kind of service in a little chapel, having no other company but a large family of cats, which follow him everywhere, probably also to his quiet masses."

November 28th. "The view from our large terrace (20 by 80 feet) is most beautiful. The Faraglioni stands a little off from the densely built up part of the town. From our terrace the ground slopes rapidly down to the sea, being covered with olives, oranges, immense cactus, aloes and well kept vegetable gardens. At the edge of the water we look into the inner court of an ancient cloister (14th century) now used for military barracks, from which the lively martial signals and trumpet blasts are heard from morning till night. To the right, above this cloister, towers the old picturesque castle, on a steep rock overhanging the sea. Back of the castle-hill and the town rises another wall of rocks

and mountains, which separates Capri from Anacapri. Its highest point is the peak of Monte Solaro, nearly 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. East of us is another mountain, in sugar-loaf form, the old Signal Station; and back of our house, to the north, still another high mountain crowned with the ruins of Fort San Michele."

Dr. Spaeth had left America in a condition of almost hopeless depression. The favorable diagnosis of his physicians in Wuerttemberg, the cheerful, home-like weeks in Naples, and then the wonderful tonic of Capri air and sunshine produced an exhilaration which showed itself in his letters. They took on an unusual playfulness, a boyish lightheartedness, the best possible proof of his rapid convalescence. December 5th. "I am daily getting stronger and better able to undertake longer trips. Yesterday morning I had set my heart on mounting the highest peak on the Island, Monte Solaro. I took a 'carozzella' after lunch and drove up to Anacapri in a little more than fifteen minutes. From there the ascent began, and thanks to my unerring guide book I had no difficulty in finding the way alone. The view was most beautiful. To the South you overlook the blue Mediterranean from a cliff which rises perpendicularly from the water to a height of over two thousand feet. To the North, West and East the Gulf of Naples, with the islands, the city, Mt. Vesuvius and the mountains behind, from Terracina far down to Calabria, are in sight. At your feet, like a relief map, is the whole island of Capri. From the mountain top I wandered across a little valley to the hermitage of St. Citrella which is built on a cliff directly overhanging the Piccolo Marina and Capri itself. It gives one the most striking exhibition of the gigantic upheavals and collapses which must have taken place to form the present chasm between Anacapri and Capri. Now that I have visited those two

highest points, which look down upon me as I sit on my sofa, and do my forenoon's work * from day to day, I feel much more at ease. Before this they always seemed to have a defiant look about them: 'You can't come up to us! We look down upon you, poor old dilapidated fellow!' Now I have stopped their mouth. I have been there, and plucked my flowers from the highest point, and do not feel a bit the worse for it!"

December 9th. "I am feeling well and seem to be getting stronger every day. Yesterday I must have walked, climbed and jumped about ten miles, and yet, when I marched down the Anacapri road, homeward bound, my step was as firm and elastic as that of any Prussian-Garde-Fusilier-Regiment! If you know what that is!" "You ask: is there any book I specially desire? A great many! and some of them far beyond our possibilities! For instance H. von Sybel, Begruendung des Deutschen Reichs,† only five volumes, and only 47.50 Marks! Is not that nice? I might go on *in infinitum*, having some very full catalogues around me, from which I can fire full broadsides on anyone desiring to know my special likings in the book line!

"Now, my dear Martha, if you are anxious to worry about something I recommend as a worthy subject of your anxiety your far-away husband's beautiful new trousers, which are beginning to break; also, if you are willing to extend your solicitude further down, I recommend to your kindliest and most careful consideration, all my light Jaeger stockings. They are going, going,—gone, every one of them, before I reach Naples again. You see, they have never been accustomed to such walks. And I have never been more cheerful than

* Preparing the course of Lectures on Acts. This work kept him entirely too much indoors, and after all was never completed.

† This was presented to him later, and was among the historical volumes bequeathed by him to Muhlenberg College.

with this prospect of seeing all my things going to rags on account of my blessed, salutary 'bodily exercise.'" "I am glad Sigmund shows such a correct and full appreciation of modern German history as to speak of 'Kaiser Bismarck!' But let him be careful with such pointed language. It is rather revolutionary, and will forever destroy his father's prospects of a Hofprediger-Stelle in Berlin! But never mind; Kaiser Bismarck soll leben!" Once when his wife dutifully enclosed an abstract of her monthly expenses he retaliated with a copy of his Italian laundry bill, warning her not to waste space in a letter again, with that sort of stuff!

CHRISTMAS IN NAPLES

Dr. Spaeth had been invited to spend the Christmas holidays in the charming home of his Neapolitan friends. For days bad weather had interrupted regular steamer service. He made the dangerous voyage at last in a small vessel used for bringing marketing over, and which he reached by means of a tiny row boat. The whole trip was extremely hazardous, the cabin was overcrowded, the waves were running high, but he had an appointment to speak in Naples that evening and there was nothing else to be done. "I had ample time on the way to think of St. Paul's voyage, after the shipwreck on the Island of Melita (Malta) as he sailed for the Bay of Naples landing at Puteoli. He took the same route that we did, between Capri and the mainland; and his ship was probably not much larger than our little 'Vaporetto.'" (Erinnerungen.)

The appointment for the evening was in an international school for girls, conducted by German Lutheran ladies of high culture, and attended by the daughters of the best families in Naples, two-thirds of them Italians and, of course, Roman Catholics. This school

had been built with money from Scotland, by an American architect, and being conducted by Germans certainly deserved its name. The four languages, Italian, French, English and German were equally familiar to those who had completed the course from Kindergarten up. In this school the Christmas service was, in some measure, to take the place to Dr. Spaeth of that in his beloved St. Johannis Sunday school. After the German hymns and the Gospel lesson he felt so at home with these two hundred and fifty young hearers that he began to ask questions and catechise as if he had really been in St. Johannis; and the lively young Italians must have felt equally at home with him, for their answers came so promptly and were so much to the point, that he was delighted. On Christmas Eve came the tree, and the guests, and the gifts at home, in San Carlo Mortelle. "A special pleasure had been prepared for us by my wife, at that time in Esslingen, who had sent us photographs of the house in which both of us were born, and where we had spent our boyhood together.

"For Second Christmas Day we planned an excursion to Vesuvius. Immediately after breakfast, Dr. Deeke, a friend of the family and a very learned German geologist, came for us. We took a carriage through the suburbs of Naples up to Resina. There we were obliged to take a third horse as leader, the way up to the Observatorium, from that point on, being very steep. We obtained a fine horse, but with such wretched harness, really only heavy string, that it broke every minute, until our driver at last patched it up with his own suspenders. We soon reached the lava fields of 1872 which extend as far down as Massa and St. Sebastian. In Dr. Deeke we had an excellent guide and interpreter, who could explain to us the character of the lava and the different stages of its decomposition. He is a specialist, well acquainted with the whole region about Vesuvius, and

once even climbed down a short distance into the crater! From the Observatory we went on foot to the top, reaching it about half-past two. The smoke was pouring out so thick that we could not see far into the crater, but the deeply riven clefts, with their wonderful yellow, green and orange-colored edges, which were continually firing off salvos of hissing, puffing steam, gave us a picture in miniature of what was going on underneath. If we threw ashes or even stones on such a cleft the snorting giant below tossed them angrily aside. . . . . The descent looked frightfully dangerous, for the way was almost perpendicular; but the deep ashes with which the cone of the crater is there covered allowed us to sink in almost to the knees at every step, and that was our protection. It was, however, necessary to throw the head as far back as possible, in order not to lose one's balance. . . . . Such a visit to Vesuvius offers one of the most sublime sights in the whole realm of Nature. One receives a profound and overwhelming impression of elemental natural forces, such as one gets nowhere else, not even from the wildest breakers of a stormy sea. And beside these corpse-strewn fields of titanic dead, which an overstrung imagination saw in the masses of cooled lava, often, close to the road on the other side, was the most flourishing, luxuriant life, rows of grape vines, the fragrance of oranges, the richest vegetation which had all grown from this same gray lava, in a later period of its decomposition; Death and Life side by side.

"In San Carlo Mortelle my host received us with special warmth and pleasure. 'Do you know,' he said to me afterwards, 'I am heartily glad that you are all back with a whole skin. The old Growler can never be trusted!'" (Erinnerungen.) "The fact that I was equal to such an effort as this proves to you better than many pages, how strong and well I am, the guides themselves

testifying that 'Old Papa' as they called me, was 'molto forte.' " (Letter.)

SAN BERNARDO

"I promised to devote a few lines to my neighbor at the table, the Rev. N. N., a graduate of Christ College, Oxford. His clean shaven face, his deep sunken eyes, betraying the ascetic and fanatic together, and his ostentatiously clerical dress give him the appearance of a well copied Roman Catholic priest. He crosses himself three times when he comes to the table, he sets up his book-rest among the plates and dishes, and spreads on it with much solemnity, some theological or devotional volume, or that excellent High Church sheet the *Guardian*. He abstains from meat on Friday * and as scrupulously abstains from the corrupt Protestant services of the Anglican Church, which, by the way, are by no means 'Low.'† He attends the 'Dome' of Capri for 'Celebration' on Sunday morning, and dislikes to be visited by the English chaplain. He has the highest admiration for Francis of Assisi and other saints and

* "That is, he had a special menu prepared for him by our good natured Padrone, which, contrasted with our rather monotonous fare, always looked so appetizing and inviting that we could not help wishing that we too might fast now and then!" (Erinnerungen.)

† Dr. Spaeth himself did not find much edification in these services, "with their 'mumbled Psalms' and 'higgledy-piggledy' sermons!" (Diary.) Nor did he fare much better with the German service in Naples on Christmas Day. The sermon was in good form, and gave a "fine historical perspective," with "Michel Angelo, and Virgil and Augustus and Seneca, and all the prominent leaders of the Augustan Age, but very little of the Christ-child in it," and while he enjoyed "Es ist ein Reis entsprungen" sung by men's voices "in the good old strong harmonies of Praetorius" he found the congregation, through its "miserable Zuerich Hymnbook, entirely cheated out of its Christmas hymns, of which that book contains absolutely none." (Letter.)

monks of the Church of Rome, and, in short, is one of those intellectual and ecclesiastical giants or monsters who made the discovery that the Reformation of the Sixteenth century is a failure. Knowing his unbounded admiration for the Romish Saints I was wicked enough, some days ago, at the full table, to treat the ladies to your story of St. Antonius of Tuebingen, and the ninety Marks he helped to recover. * The ladies who understand the 'papa vecchio' of his American family pretty well, enjoyed the fun of the situation hugely." Several weeks before this the Diary recorded : "The four English ladies whom Alfreddo reported as having arrived today, have emerged from the chrysalis,—Americans. How ready they are to become acquainted in comparison with our good English guests! I should never have dreamed that there was such a difference!"

SERVICES IN CAPRI

December 15, 1891. "Last night Miss P. found a Roman Catholic Catechism on the parlor table. It was written in English, and contained a very clever defense of some of the heresies of the Church of Rome. She read for our common edification, rousing our common Protestantism to an uncommon self-assertion, and the whole thing finally turned into a lecture on Symbolics, which the Professor of the Mt. Airy Seminary gave to his grateful lady-hearers, pacing the room in great and

* While one of Dr. Spaeth's sisters, confined to bed by a slight indisposition, was dividing the money intended for Christmas presents into little heaps, ninety Marks mysteriously disappeared. After some time spent in vain searching for them, a Roman Catholic attendant exclaimed: "Oh Frau Doctor! Pray to St. Antonius! *He* restores lost things!" "He will not help *me*!" said the Frau Doctor despairingly, "I'm a *Lutheran!*" Whether the little sempstress invoked St. Antonius or not, we did not dare to inquire, but in a few minutes the ninety Marks reappeared.

evergrowing excitement, as he went on fighting the Pope and the Bulls and the Councils."

Among the refined and intelligent visitors in Capri Dr. Spaeth made many warm friends with whom he could discuss not only topics of general interest, but also deeper matters of faith and religion. It was therefore a great delight to him, in January, to assemble a small congregation in the parlor of the hotel, to whom he preached regularly every Sunday. In Naples he had spoken with Pastor Trede of the possibility of some such arrangement in Capri. Pastor Trede had repeatedly visited the Island and held mission services among the guests there; but the distance from Naples, the irregularity of the steamer, the numerous interruptions made by the Tramontana which often suspended communication with the mainland for days, all made it very difficult, if not impossible, to supply a preaching station there from Naples. But Dr. Spaeth was settled in Capri for several months, and a young German theological student who was there as tutor in a noble family from Mecklenburg, would undertake to continue the work, so the service was begun. The ladies in the hotel, German, English and American, vied with each other in arranging the room suitably for worship, and one of them served as organist. The good friends in Naples came over expressly for the first service. There was an audience of about thirty, and the singing went very well, as Dr. Spaeth had procured hymnbooks from a German Society founded for the purpose of providing religious services in health resorts. The people showed great interest, and after almost every sermon someone would come to him with a question about this or that point. After this beginning the German services were continued, and the Germans have now had a chapel of their own in Capri for several years.

February 6, 1892. "My sermon for tomorrow is

ready. I took the theme on which I preached in Esslingen, Paul at Athens,* and had taken special pains to work out the subject for my refined audience, some of whom may be more in sympathy with the Epicurean or Stoic schools of philosophy than with St. Paul's plain Gospel. Now that I am ready for them with what I thought should prove a special treat, I hear that the goodly company of my German countrymen at Pagano's have planned a great excursion to the Island of Ischia for tomorrow, and have chartered a steamer for that trip! Double disappointment for me! Ischia, which is my special favorite among the pearls that encircle the Gulf of Naples I should have liked to visit myself, and this would have been a splendid opportunity. And,—my service! It isn't a very nice prospect, of having the attendance on the second service fallen off so greatly in comparison with the first. And then the Tempter comes and says: 'Keep your Athens sermon for a larger audience and treat the few elderly ladies that will come tomorrow to something plainer, which you can easily prepare this evening.' But no! I shall not listen to him! If my sermon was the right thing to be preached at all, it must be preached tomorrow,—rain or shine, few or many!" This vigorous and entirely Luther-an defiance of the Tempter was duly rewarded. February 9th. "Today the Sirocco is howling around the Island, but Sunday was a beautiful warm and bright day, and I was most agreeably disappointed in finding about the same number present at the service, as the Sunday before. I preached my Athens sermon, adapted to Italian surroundings in nature, art and history. It seemed to make a deep impression. The Ischia excursion had been given up after all, the owners of the little steamer not being sure about the weather. They are extremely cautious here, and say that so long as a wind

* Printed in "Heimat-Gruesse."

is blowing strong enough to extinguish a burning candle, an Italian captain will not venture out of port!"

LAST DAYS IN CAPRI

February 9th. "The mosquitoes are beginning to be very troublesome. I have used with great success certain little fumigators which are burned, and seem to paralyze them completely. But what is the use of such a silent, gentlemanly remedy if, in the adjoining room, some sturdy Amazons wage a war of extermination all night with their fists, and glory next morning in having killed twenty-four enemies in this midnight battle?" In the end of February, Dr. Spaeth left Capri, followed by the good wishes of many to whom his stay there had proved both pleasant and profitable. Several of these friends accompanied him to the quay. Many more stood on the cliff over the harbor, waving a last good-bye. "As our steamer left the Marina Grande, and the picturesque forms of Capri were concentrated more and more as the distance increased, some Italian musicians on board began to sing, to the accompaniment of guitar and mandolin 'Addio bella Capri,' and it made the tears start to my eyes, as I remembered how much good this lovely Island had done for my health and how much kindness I had received here from persons whom I had never known before.—'Addio bella Capri!' "

After a few days in Naples Dr. Spaeth went on to Rome. The German Consul there, Herr A. von Nast, had been a classmate of his in Blaubeuren, but had given up theology and attained great success in business. "If we reckon in gold and silver, he was by far the first in the Promotion." From this old friend our traveler received much attention and many kindnesses. "On my last day in Rome we drove out to the Via Appia, the same road over which Paul came to Rome from Puteoli

and the Three Taverns. I begged my friend to let me out there. I wished to walk over the old stone blocks where once the Apostle's feet had trod. In the same way I followed the traces of Luther so far as my short time allowed." In St. Peter's Dr. Spaeth was disgusted with the indifference and carelessness shown by the officiating priests. It all reminded him of Luther, and the description of *his* pilgrimage to Rome, in the minutest detail. On the whole, ancient, heathen Rome with its imposing ruins appealed to him more than mediæval, Christian Rome with its churches. He excepted the wonderful Basilica San Paolo fuori le mure, St. Paul's church *outside* of the city! After one week in Rome he spent three days among the art treasures of Florence, then turned north, over the snow-covered Apennines, and on the twelfth of March rejoined his family in Tuebingen.

SWITZERLAND

In June, 1897, Dr. Spaeth sailed on the Southwark for Antwerp, with his second son, Douglas. In Frankfurt he was the guest of Pastor Cordes, and "had a delightful time with him in his lovely manse, built after his own plans. His church also is an architectural jewel. His whole life and work at Frankfurt is a brilliant success. I never had an idea how much aggressiveness and power of initiation he possesses."

After a few weeks in Esslingen, where Dr. Spaeth officiated at the marriage of his brother's eldest daughter, a short but very interesting trip into Switzerland was taken, including Lucerne, Vierwaldstaetter-See and Pilatus. Here they arrived in dense fog which cleared for sunset and a beautiful moonlit night. The further journey included the fine cascades of the Giessbach, Interlaken, Lauterbrunn Valley to Wengern-Alp and Klein-Scheidegg, where the Jungfrau, Moench and Eiger shone in

Stadtkirche in Esslingen, St. Dionysius

all the glory of a perfect morning, and then back by way of Berne, Neuhausen and the Rheinfall, Tuebingen to Esslingen.

BERLIN, LEIPZIG, DRESDEN

On the first of June, 1901, Dr. Spaeth sailed for Hamburg on the Phoenicia, Captain Froehlich. Pleasant company, exceptionally good fare, a roomy cabin and the "ocean as smooth as a river" made this "by far the most delightful voyage I ever had in my life." By special request he delivered a lecture on Bismarck, and on Sunday morning conducted a short service. The usual concert was given, this time under the leadership of Emil Paur. There were many musicians of high standing on board. At the German service the chorales were played by Professor Milde, Director of the National Conservatory, New York. A special correspondent of the *Concert-Goer* writes: "For this occasion there was a German sermon by one of the most delightful clergymen that ever crossed the sea, Professor Spaeth of Philadelphia. He is full of wit as well as piety. The former sparkles on all occasions. The latter is so unobtrusive that one is not at all disturbed (*sic*) by its presence. Gentle dignity and sweet charity . . . . are marked characteristics of this man of letters." He had with him a volume of Bettex, and one day read selections from the "Lied der Schoepfung" to a group of six or seven gentlemen in the smoking-room. They were "most attentive and appreciative hearers, and the book made such an impression that three of the gentlemen took down its title, with the intention of purchasing it on their arrival in Germany. It is a rare occurence that such a book finds listeners in the smoking-room of a Hamburg steamer."

After landing he spent the first Sunday in Berlin, finding very comfortable quarters in the Hospiz, and

there attended the service in the house, conducted by one of the clergymen of the Berlin City Mission. Returning to his room on the first floor, overlooking a pretty court with flower beds and a fountain, he was saluted with a beautiful chorus in three parts. "It was the Berlin choristers, some twenty boys, who were posted in our inner court and sang, in exquisite style, 'Gott des Himmels und der Erden,' Mendelssohn's 'Hebe deine Augen auf' and 'Herr, Dein Wort die edle Gabe.' It brought the tears to my eyes, especially as one of the most conspicuous soprano singers reminded me strongly of Reynold and his hearty singing.

"A little after nine I went to the Interim's Dom in the Oranienburger Strasse. There I enjoyed the most beautiful singing I ever expect to hear in this world, the Domchor with its seventy voices, men and boys,—of course all *a cappella*. It was simply perfection. The pieces they sang were by recent composers, but in excellent style, one by Becker the late leader of the Domchor, who raised it to such perfection. The sermon, preached by one of the court preachers, was in choice language, and in its arrangement and manner impressed me as being in the form of my own sermons. But the preacher warmed up only when he came to the historical remembrances of these days in Berlin. Yesterday thirteen years ago, Kaiser Friedrich died, and this day (June 16th) thirty years ago, the victorious German troops held their triumphant entry in the new Kaiserstadt. And today at noon the great Bismarck monument in front of the Parliament House was unveiled. I would have liked to be there, but would have to sacrifice the Domchor which I was unwilling to do. As I waited after church for the Wachtparade I was informed that the Kaiser, who had returned from Kiel this morning, would presently pass on his way to the Bismarck celebration. The road was kept clear for

him, but not even the cabs or omnibuses were stopped in their routes. At last his carriage appeared, drawn by two fine horses, no guard, no outriders or display of any kind. Wilhelm and his good wife Augusta Victoria were seated side by side in the most comfortable, every-day (spiessbuergerlich) style. My German heart went out to them, and I lifted my hat so demonstratively that I received a special salutation from His Majesty. About an hour afterwards, as I stood in front of the castle listening to the fine playing of the band of the Guards, I saw the Emperor returning from the unveiling of the statue in the same unassuming manner. I thought the Berliners were rather cold and indifferent, but probably they are more accustomed to royalty and to Wilhelm's particular ways, than we Republicans."

Tuesday, June 18th, he visited Potsdam, going first to the Garnisonkirche, to the tomb of Frederick the Great. "There I stood at the very spot where Napoleon stood after the Battle of Jena in 1806, saying to the king in the coffin: 'If you had been alive I would not be here;' which, I think, is true enough. We continued our ride to Babelsberg, the lovely summer home of the old Emperor Wilhelm, of which he was particularly fond. It is a most lovely spot, the castle itself a plain but pretty Ritterburg, and the park with its magnificent vistas over the Havel, and the lakes around it. I had no idea that the immediate neighborhood of Berlin contained such very pretty scenery. In the afternoon we visited Sansouci, the favorite residence of Frederick the Great, and to our delight just as we ascended the steps the fountain in the park began to play, sending its waters up to a height of more than one hundred feet. I formed the resolution to read Carlyle's Frederick the Great, being anxious to see how that military hero impressed Carlyle's mind. To me there is always great

offense in Frederick's predilection for the French as a language, and for Voltaire as a companion.

"But the most inspiring and beautiful place I saw in Potsdam was the Mausoleum of Emperor Frederick III., 'unser Fritz,' who is buried in the Friedenskirche. Here everything breathes a perfectly heavenly rest and peace. As the anniversary of his death had occurred last Saturday the sanctuary was full of magnificent flowers and wreaths, sent by the Emperor and many German princes."

Wednesday, June 19th. "I left the imperial city for Wittenberg. On the train I met Dr. Tiffany of New York, of whom I had often heard. He seemed to know me quite well, and our conversation did not drag. As he was also bound for the Luther places in Wittenberg we formed an alliance for the day, and the Lutheran steered the Episcopalian through all the historic places of the old university. It was a great delight to me to have a truly appreciative companion, and he seemed to be really glad to have such an enthusiastic admirer of Luther for his guide. . . . . In the afternoon we separated, my newly gained friend leaving for Halle, and I for Leipzig, where I was met by the Quartette. There they were at the station, all four and Liesel, in festive array with flowers in their hands, laughing and crying with joy. . . . . We drove through the whole city, and I was much impressed with the beauty of Leipzig as compared to Berlin, its architectural combinations appeared to me much happier and in better taste than those of Berlin.

"After supper we all went to the Carola Theatre, to see the religious drama 'Maria', which was accompanied by some of the best pieces of our Leipzig Quartette sung by their choir and the Thomas Chor, in beautiful style, under the direction of Herr Cantor. You can imagine how I felt when the first notes that greeted me in Leipzig

were those of 'ich lag in tiefster Todesnacht'. The whole thing was exceedingly well done, the author and his wife, a most charming woman, taking the principal rôles of Nero and Maria. On Saturday we went to the St. Thomas Kirche, to hear the famous Thomaner Chor, founded by Selnecker and trained by Bach, and were fortunate enough to hear one of the most characteristic motets of the old master, set in five parts. The basses seem to me better in the Dom Chor of Berlin, but the boy sopranos of the St. Thomas Church are finer than those in Berlin. Sunday morning at nine we were all at our posts in St. Johannis. The service was very much like our own, the pastor intoning even the Collect and the Benediction. The Gradual was the twenty-third Psalm, a composition of the Cantor. The sermon was very good, and I could most sincerely thank the good pastor with whose name I have long been familiar. . . . . After the service we went down to the crypt where Gellert's and Bach's sarkophagi are side by side." From Leipzig he went to Dresden, saw the "matchless Sistina of Raphael," and, later, "wandered to the international exposition of paintings to be disgusted with some of the most tasteless, incredible presentations of what some crazy fellows call art in these days of ours."

Esslingen, July 10th. "Yesterday the annual convention of the Gustavus Adolphus Society of Wuerttemberg was held in Cannstadt. I went down early in the morning with our friend Prelat Demmler. We first attended the main service in the Stadtkirche, where one of the Tuebingen professors delivered a good sermon which was, however, entirely too academic, and not popular enough for the occasion. From there we went to the Lutherkirche, one of the handsomest modern church buildings I have seen for a long time, and attended a 'Jugendgottesdienst' (children's service). It was a delight to see the body of the large church filled with

boys and girls, singing their 'Ein feste Burg' with all their might, in clarion tones, and listening to a fresh, taking address by a son of that good Professor Pfleiderer who was once so sharply rebuked by me in my 'Amerikanische Beleuchtung.' "

Dr. Spaeth had accepted an invitation to preach in Esslingen largely in order to gratify his mother's desire to "hear her boy." But when the time came she was ill in bed. "It was a very hard struggle for her, but at last she yielded in Christian resignation, comforting herself with the thought that the Lord knew she would have been too proud and elated in hearing her first-born in the pulpit." Later he writes: "I have already told you that mother was obliged to give up the idea of coming to hear my sermon. But Herr Decan gave her a great pleasure. He is a very skillful stenographer. While I was preaching he took down the whole sermon, and a few days later paid a visit to mother while I was out, and read it all to her. It was a lovely thing to do." Just before leaving Esslingen he received the book "Von Continent zu Continente" written by Herr and Frau Roethig, "quite unpretentious and rather gossipy; such a thing as people in America would like to read. I am pleased to see that our choir gets full credit in the Cantor's statements about the concert in St. Johannis." On the fourth of August he sailed for America again on the Phoenicia, accompanied by his daughter Else, who had spent the summer in Scotland and Germany.

THE CONFERENCE IN ROSTOCK

July 21, 1904, Dr. Spaeth left New York on the Hamburg, as the guest of the Hamburg-American line, to attend a convention of the Allgemeine Konferenz in Rostock. On his way to Esslingen he visited Couvet in Switzerland, "a quiet village lying in the lovely valley

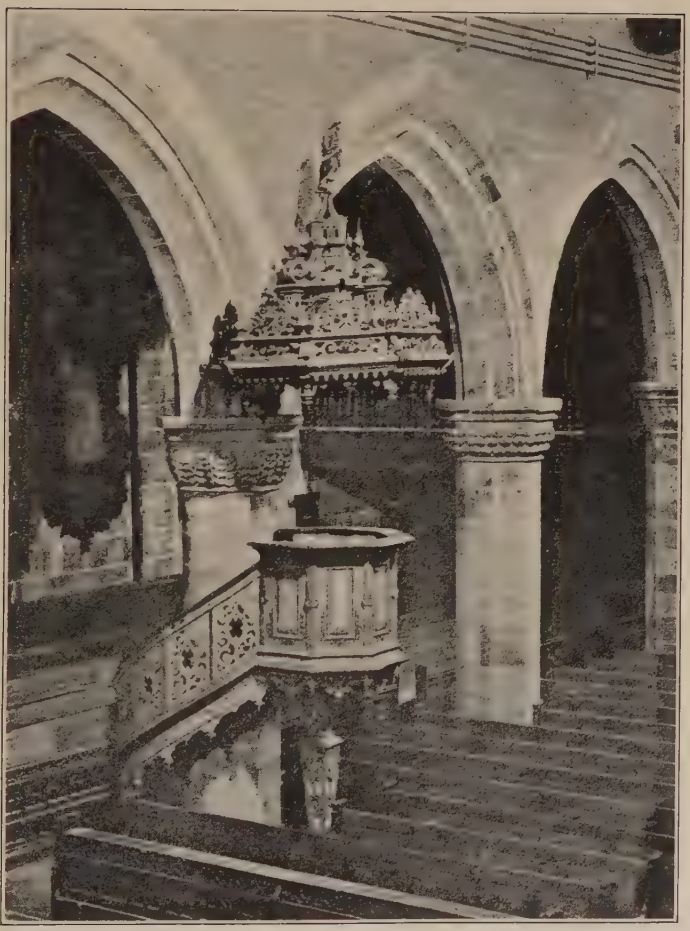
of the Reuss, hedged in by very respectable mountains." On Sunday he drove with his old friend Cécile to a beautiful place, les Rasses, nearly 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, where a fine panorama of lakes and mountains was spread before them, with the whole chain of the Alps, from Mont Blanc to the Jungfrau, about three hundred miles. On his arrival in Esslingen he "found a letter from Professor Guembel, the Chairman of the committee for the great Speyer celebration, August 30th and 31st, when the 'Protestationskirche' is to be consecrated. I am appointed to make the address after the unveiling of the Luther Monument, as the representative of the American Lutherans." On account of plans for travel with his brother which could not be altered, he was obliged reluctantly to decline this invitation.

August 18th. "I went to Stuttgart to see something of the Congress of Americanists, opened in the Koenigsbau by the King in person, who made a very neat speech welcoming the learned men to his country and capital. We listened to two addresses; one in French by a Parisian scholar who spoke on Humboldt's journeys in Central and South America, and one in German by Rector Kapff of Stuttgart, who spoke on the influence of Wuerttembergers on the Colonization of America. In summing up the famous 'Schwaben' who had obtained a prominent position in America, he mentioned Spaeth and Mann as the two theologians among them.

"The King had invited the members of the Congress to lunch with him in his Villa Wilhelma, and we found trolley cars ready for the members at the Koenigsbau, to convey us to Cannstadt. There were in all about two hundred and fifty who went. The tables were set in the 'Festsaal,' built in luxurious Moorish style. I met some very pleasant companions, and enjoyed the occasion very much. The menu of the déjeuner was simple but ex-

quisite, and the wines particularly fine. After a 'Hoch' to the King, to which he responded in a happy little speech, we adjourned to the garden where cigars and beer were served, the King himself smoking and moving freely among his guests. A few gentlemen were presented to him, and he engaged in longer or shorter conversation with them. Herman Bilfinger, in whose father's church I preached my first sermon forty-five years ago, and who is now 'Generaladjutant' and, in fact, the right hand of the King, introduced me to His Majesty and we were promptly in the liveliest conversation. 'How did you happen to go to Philadelphia?' he asked me, and when I began to tell him of Scotland, where the call had reached me he at once interrupted: 'Oh, at that time you were in the Argyles' house as successor to the present Prelat Schmid?' His interest in our German congregations in America was very strongly expressed, and his amazement almost amusing when he was told that the Philadelphia churches founded by Muehlenberg in 1742 still preserve the German language in their services. . . . . When I thought I had monopolized enough of his Majesty's time I bowed and told him that this meeting had been 'a great pleasure and honor to me.' Probably this winding up was a shock to the guardians of the palace etiquette, but the King certainly was as pleasant as possible from beginning to end, and made me feel quite at home with him."

About two weeks were spent very delightfully in Gmunden on the Trauensee, where he and his brother and sister-in-law were guests in a beautiful villa belonging to a wealthy merchant of Munich. The exquisite view included "the lake with its crown of wild mountains, the Traunstein rising to the height of more than 7,000 feet on the other side. There is a wonderful mixture of sweetness and grandeur in the whole landscape." From Gmunden they made frequent excursions



Pulpit in Stadtkirche

including a whole day devoted to the Schafberg. "It has about the same altitude as the Rigi, and commands a view which, in some respects, is even more beautiful than that from the Rigi. We had a most glorious sight of the snowy mountains, the Dachstein, the Grossglockner, etc., and were told that in many weeks the mountains had not been so clear."

Esslingen, September 18, 1904. "I preached in the Frauenkirche at the main service for Herr Decan Blank. The large and beautiful church was filled to overflowing, many people standing through the whole service. It was an inspiration to look down upon this mass of humanity, so quiet, devout and attentive, and so many men among them. My text was the Gospel for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, the raising of the widow's son at Nain." This sermon was printed under the title: Gott hat Sein Volk heimgesucht.

One week later he left Esslingen for Berlin, reaching Rostock next day. Soon after his arrival he attended the first meeting of the "Engere Conference" a sort of executive committee, of which he was a member. "I was cordially received by Count Vizthum the President, and embraced and kissed by our beloved Bishop (von Scheele) in a perfect outburst of 'Wiedersehens-Freude.' The business transactions lasted nearly four hours and were rather tedious and uninteresting. The parliamentary methods in vogue at this meeting appeared to my American eye rather clumsy, and at some points hardly fair. It was good and necessary that I should be present at one of these business meetings; but as for a personal participation in the discussions, or even the formal presentation of the greetings of the American Church, I might have stayed in Stuttgart to hear and see my dear Leipzigers." The Quartette were to sing in Stuttgart the very day that he was obliged to leave. Two minutes before his train pulled out from the station,

theirs arrived. "In the evening, on reaching the 'Tonhalle' where the opening meeting of the Conference was to take place, the one great difficulty of these days at once manifested itself. There was absolutely no hall large enough to hold the crowds which came to the different meetings. The interest in, and enthusiasm for our Conference in Mecklenburg and the good old Hansa-Stadt Rostock were unbounded. There is still much good, solid, strong Lutheran feeling and consciousness in this place.

"On Tuesday morning the opening service was held in the large Marienkirche, after which the real work of the Conference began. We sat and listened from eleven to five! The two papers presented were indeed admirable productions, most carefully prepared, and full of instruction and stimulation. Immediately after the adjournment the great banquet began at another hall. Between five and six hundred persons sat down to dinner. At the request of Count Vizthum I made a little after-dinner speech, toasting 'die liebe alte Heimat.' It roused the people to such enthusiasm that they all jumped up from their chairs and joined in singing: 'Deutschland, Deutschland ueber Alles.'

"Wednesday forenoon was devoted to Committee meetings for special objects. They are a formal part of the program, their time and themes for discussion are announced, and they are open to all. I attended the one on foreign relations and the one for collectors for the treasury of the Conference." At the evening session Dr. Spaeth had the first address, speaking for over an hour to a very large and attentive audience. His theme was: The International Significance of the Lutheran Confession. "Count Vizthum thanked me most heartily, saying how well he remembered my address in Hamburg

seventeen years ago.* Rector Bezzel who followed me made an admirable speech, original, popular, simple, devout and at the same time full of richest stimulating thought, and adorned with beautiful touches of true poetry. It was, however, delivered in a somewhat monotonous and rather strained 'Kanzelton' and I am sure will be more enjoyable when read in print."

A few months after his return from Rostock Dr. Spaeth received an invitation from the Emperor to attend the dedication of the new Dom-Kirche in Berlin. Feeling obliged to decline this honor, he telegraphed his regrets to the German Ambassador Baron von Sternberg through whom the invitation came, suggesting the President of the New York Ministerium, Dr. J. J. Heischman, as his substitute. A number of Lutheran clergymen in New York, Philadelphia and Washington sent congratulation by cable, and received a courteous telegram from the Emperor in reply.

VILLA FICHTENECK

In the summer of 1907 Dr. Spaeth very reluctantly undertook his ninth trip abroad. The Krauth Library and the beautiful stained glass windows in St. Johannis were approaching completion, and so far he had eagerly watched every step in their progress. On the same day that he left Philadelphia one of his sons went to the hospital for an operation, which was also a heavy burden on the father's heart, although he had every assurance from the surgeon that all the conditions were favorable.

* In 1898 Pastor Goedel had written: "Graf Vizthum actually said—I wrote it down immediately for you—'In 1887 a representative of the brethren in America brought us such an earnest, warm greeting over the sea, that our hearts reeled!' (uns das Herz wackelte)."

On the twenty-sixth of June he left Baltimore on the steamer Rhein. "Many a time I had been present when such a floating city left the dock, either on deck as a passenger myself, or as the friend of a passenger who had accompanied him to the ship. But I believe I had never seen on such an occasion, such crowds of people and such a demonstration. Thousands stood on the wharf waving flags and handkerchiefs, and calling out farewell messages to departing friends. A German singing society of Baltimore had brought several bands with them. Their tender, half melancholy 'Fahr wohl! Fahr wohl!' was at last drowned and swallowed up in the crashing music on the ship, as our orchestra struck up the defiant 'Muss i' denn.'—But amid all this uproar my eyes grew dim. I felt very lonely and forsaken, and prayed from the bottom of my heart: 'Lord preserve my going out and my coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore.' " (K. B.*)

Sunday, June 30th. "It is well known that on German ships the familiar bugle calls of the army are heard all day long. For rising, for breakfast, etc., the signals are used exactly as in the barracks for meals and drill. Today, however, we began with a different sound. 'Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme,'—so the orchestra played, with trumpet and trombone, a very earnest and solemn greeting in the early Sunday morning. It was only intended to waken the sleepers, and probably few who heard it realized the import of this powerful call, this heavenly suggestion of the last trump! A fresh, vigorous morning hymn like our beautiful 'Die gueldne Sonne' would really have been more appropriate, especially as the goodness of God had given us a 'golden Sun-day' in the fullest sense. But who will remonstrate when such a glorious melody as that of the 'King of

* *Kirchenbote,* Reisebriefe, 1907.

Chorales' resounds over the mighty deep? May we not rejoice and thank God, that our Germans are not only a nation of soldiers, familiar with barrack signals, but also a Christian nation in whose heart a greeting from the home above wakens joy and gladness; and to whom the most precious legacy from their fathers, the evangelical Chorale, is still a treasure and a power?" (K. B.)

After the first Sunday service, in which Dr. Spaeth declined taking part as there were a number of younger clergymen on board, he and a few others formed a quartette which sang on deck every pleasant evening, contributing not a little to the enjoyment of their fellow passengers. "Even the better element of Americans crowded about them attracted by the charming German Folk-songs; and when they came to the Chorales, to 'Ein Feste Burg' or 'Jerusalem du hochgebaute Stadt,' with the solemn stars shining down upon them, a feeling akin to worship came over them all, deeper, more earnest than even the loveliest Folk-songs could produce."

July 4th. " 'The Fourth' on the high sea—that was a new experience for me. It was a real pleasure to escape from the *obligato* snapping and popping of fire-crackers and pistol-shots, with which the patriotic American juveniles, young and old, are accustomed to spend this day on shore. Neither could we complain of the usual Fourth of July heat. The north wind was so raw and sharp that I expected a snow flurry any minute from the cold, gray clouds. A committee of passengers had prepared an extended program for the day, which was carried out with universal enthusiasm. Instead of the morning bugle-call the orchestra greeted us at seven o'clock with the melody, 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.' A son of Abraham who stood beside me as we listened, turned up his nose at this tune, to him unknown. 'Why don't they begin with "My country 'tis of thee?" ' he growled. 'What kind of a tune is that,

anyhow?' I explained to him briefly and concisely: 'That tune, sir, is "a mighty Fortress is our God," and to it rightly belongs the first place in our national celebration, for where a nation does not possess and guard this Fortress, it goes to ruin. Therefore, first "a mighty Fortress," and afterwards "My Country."' Half an hour later the stars and stripes were hoisted at the foremast, and the cannon fired a salute. The orchestra played the National Hymn, and everyone greeted the flag with enthusiastic cheers and waving of handkerchiefs." The real celebration at ten o'clock included a concert by the orchestra, the singing of patriotic songs, and an address by a young Episcopalian pastor, which on the whole was quite good and appropriate. Dr. Spaeth was provoked, however, that in describing the well known scene where Peter Muehlenberg exchanged his gown for a uniform, the orator forgot to tell his hearers that the congregation in Woodstock, Va., was a *German Lutheran* congregation. He called it "Episcopalian," a curious historical perversion by a man who ought to have known better! A dance on the be-flagged and illuminated deck ended the day.

On landing in Bremen Dr. Spaeth found among his letters a cablegram with the one word "well" which quieted his anxiety over his son's condition, and filled his heart with thanksgiving. A few days later he joined his daughter, who was visiting friends in the beautiful Villa Fichteneck on the Ebensee. Here for eight days the rain poured in torrents. The whole valley at Ebensee, at the south end of the Trauensee was flooded, and over the high, steep walls of rock the improvised cascades plunged down to the lake. Verily a different picture from that of 1904, when, for three weeks, he had enjoyed the wonderfully beautiful Trauensee in unclouded sunshine. "The first fine day I went down the lake to Gmunden, to my dear old friend Senior Koch,

pastor of the Lutheran church there. From him I learned to my great surprise and delight that on the following Monday the Leipzig Quartette were to give a concert in his church! I had set that afternoon for my departure, but of course this news changed my plans." (K. B.)

July 23. "Yesterday was the day for the concert of our Leipzig friends in the Gmunden church. We were in Ebensee in good time for the afternoon steamer as we had been invited to meet the singers at coffee in the manse. What was our surprise when we found Frau Pastor Koch at the wharf, and learned that the route of the Quartette had been changed, and that they were now coming from Ischl, to proceed to Gmunden by the very boat we were to take! After a long half hour their train rolled into the station. I was to receive the singers first, the rest of our party waiting in the background. Frau Cantor had espied me from the train, and at once recognized me, though she had not the remotest idea of my being in Europe. She hardly waited till the train stopped, to rush upon me! The Cantor followed with a greeting not less demonstrative! It was a scene (!) which, I suppose, the large gathering of tourists at the station thoroughly enjoyed. I did not care. It was too sweet for anything! * Today they will sing at the Cumberland Castle, and dine with the 'Welf' dynasty. In the afternoon they will pass through Ebensee again on their way to Aussee where they have a concert this evening. Herr Cantor was quite willing to stop at Ebensee for a short visit to the Villa Fichteneck, but as it would have crowded them too much, I thought it unfair to insist on it." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

"On Wednesday they were to give a concert in Salz-

* One of those relegated to "the background" reported later: "Some of the Austrians standing near were highly amused and exclaimed, 'Hobt ihr je *so* e' Freud' g'sehe'?' "

burg, so we bade them farewell. That morning we went rowing on the lake. After rowing for a considerable distance along the rocky shore, we landed and climbed about the steep slopes plucking the lovely cyclamen which grows here in such abundance. Coming back, as we approached the boat-house, suddenly we heard singularly beautiful, yet familiar sounds. A glorious song in four parts came to us across the water. Involuntarily we stopped rowing. 'Praetorius!' said I, 'How does he get here?' 'The Leipziger!' cried Carola. 'Not possible! They are on the way to Salzburg!' But it was really they. There stood the Quartette on the shore and greeted us with their lovely 'Lobsingt dem Herrn.' They had turned back once more from Aussee to give us this exquisite pleasure and surprise. At the Villa they had found the old lady alone, and greeted her with the 'Lieblich Engelspiel.' Then little Rudel the steward's grandson led them down to the lake, where they hoped to find us. We had only a few minutes together before the carriage bore them away to their train, but still the distant notes came back to us, 'Weit, weit, reis ich noch heut!' and then, like a beautiful dream, they had vanished." (K. B.)

"FAREWELL DEAR GERMANY!"

On the Rhein Dr. Spaeth had been obliged to take what he could get, in the way of accommodation, as his decision to go abroad had been rather sudden. "Sometimes I feel as if this would positively be my last voyage. I seem to have lost all appetite for it. But possibly it is only the result of the terrible contrast over against the comforts I enjoyed on my last trip on the Hamburg. And with two in a cabin probably I would not think it such a formidable undertaking after all, to repeat it once more." His quarters on the Gneisenau for the re-

Esslingen from the Neckarhalde, Frauenkirche

turn trip were all that he could wish, a comfortable, airy cabin with one congenial companion, over against a small room crowded with six men, most of whom considered fresh air dangerous (one suffering from tuberculosis), which had fallen to his lot on the Rhein. And so, on the second of June, 1909, he set forth for the last time, taking Mrs. Spaeth with him. We wished to make an informal tour of Switzerland, to spend a few weeks with the beloved daughter whom he had married in 1907, to celebrate the first birthday of her boy, and to take part in the reunion of the Promotion in Blaubeuren. Beyond this our plan was, to have no plan. We took no round-trip tickets. When we were tired we rested where we found comfort and beauty. Except a few notes in Dr. Spaeth's Diary, little more than a series of dates, the only record of this journey is in Mrs. Spaeth's "Line a Day."

Our quarters on the Pennsylvania were very comfortable. Our nearest neighbors on deck and at the table were refined and intelligent people. There were many Jews on the ship. Among them a young Doctor and his mother proved most congenial companions, and gradually the conversation at table was largely between them and Dr. Spaeth.

June 9th. "Adolph has worked up through music, art, travel, classic and modern literature, and is ready now to teach theology to all these pupils who so gladly sit at his feet. Today at dinner the subject of Faith came up. Adolph spoke very earnestly and impressively. The young Doctor asked if that was professional, or really his personal conviction, and received a reply that brought tears to his eyes." Three days later he and his mother left the ship at Plymouth, after a touching farewell to Dr. Spaeth, showing real gratitude and affection. June 12th. "Bishop's Rock in the morning, a lighthouse directly in front of us, white and ghostlike on the horizon.

. . . . In the afternoon we passed the Lizards, soon Eddystone lighthouse loomed up, winking at us from a distance, and then we went down to the Captain's dinner, the closing festivity before landing our Plymouth contingent. . . . . The first officer had conveyed to the company the good wishes of our host, Captain Schmidt, but no one responded. At the Doctor's suggestion Adolph then spoke. The people were in raptures, and gave 'Dreimal Hoch!' with great enthusiasm, the band scuttling in as soon as they could catch the key in which Adolph had begun to sing." The Diary says of this speech: "A silly girl (ein junges Schaeckelchen) paid me the compliment, 'You have well expressed just what *I* would have said on this occasion!'" . . . . "The sunset was most beautiful. The sun was very red, in a golden sky, the low lands toward Plymouth were rich purple, the water deep green, and from the shore to the ship a broad band of red-gold sparkled as wave after wave caught the radiance of the sinking sun." June 13th. "We have all been so sorry for a poor young French girl, very sweet looking but entirely blind. She landed at Cherbourg. Adolph summoned courage to say to her as we approached land, 'Voila, la belle France!' She replied in French, 'Yes, I am very happy!' and then, fearing he had not understood, she added, 'verr*ee* happ*ee!*'"

We were to be the guests of Pastor Cordes in Hamburg, but reaching the city at midnight went to a hotel, and next morning took an open carriage to his house. June 15th. "Hamburg is very stately, very busy, very beautiful, with all its finer houses buried in flowers and green. The rhododendrons, azaleas, laburnum and great hawthorns are in full bloom. . . . . Mr. Cordes was completely surprised, as the papers had stated that the Pennsylvania could only reach Hamburg at ten this morning. . . . . After showing us the parsonage

and parish house, which he planned himself in every detail, he drove with us through the city as far as our time allowed. . . . . We saw the spires of the various Lutheran churches, also the fine Rathhaus, but very superficially, as a new picture gallery was open for private view, 'Directors only' and the public was not admitted. 'Next time!' said Mr. Cordes. . . . . We had also seen his church before going driving. It is large and handsome, but we thought it too dark."

June 18th. "From Basel to Montreux we travelled by the road through the French Jura, and although we lost much by the fog, we still had wonderful glimpses of the rocky or thickly wooded ranges, which would suddenly give place to wide, open country, and cultivation again. . . . . When we reached Montreux Pastor Goedel and the younger children were at the station. For a week we enjoyed the hospitality of the parsonage, making excursions in the picturesque neighborhood. . . . . On the twenty-second Adolph and Pastor Goedel set off for Zermatt, returning next day. They had fought their way through snow and storm to Gorner Grat, Adolph nearly succumbing to the rarified air, and Pastor Goedel nearly frozen. But next morning the weather was ideally beautiful, and the view of Matterhorn and Gorner Grat repaid all their exertion. Adolph says it was the finest he ever saw."

June 24th. "Lunched at Interlaken and then took a carriage for our next train. The driver, finding we had no tickets, suggested that he could take us in good time to Lauterbrunnen, where we would have changed cars in any case. The carriage was very clean and comfortable, the weather had cleared gloriously, so we followed his advice. Adolph says this drive up the Lauterbrunn Valley is one of the most beautiful in the world. It was certainly the most beautiful I ever took, and we had time to admire everything we saw. The

mountains were grand, and close to the road at the right the forest ran up out of sight, with tinkling little cascades running down, and always the river rushing and foaming along on the other side. . . . Before our windows at the Bellevue in Klein-Scheidegg we had the wonderful range Eiger, Moench, Jungfrau, with Silberhorn and other peaks. We heard the roar of an avalanche and saw the last shower of snow, like a smaller Staubbach on the rugged face of the Jungfrau."

June 25th. "This has been the one really disagreeable day in our trip so far. Cold rain now and then, open cars after Lauterbrunnen, then the open boat with men and one woman (!) puffing tobacco smoke into our faces at every turn. . . . I had enough of lake steamers. But—the Giessbach and the hotel, and the beautiful woods, and the long pergola like the deck of a ship where we are the only passengers, for it is so early in the season that there are only nine guests in the house. At once I made up my mind: no more open boats for me! We will stay here. Adolph readily agreed to my wish. 'I was sure you would like it here,' he said."

June 26th. "No greedy train waiting for us this morning. We got up when we felt like it, and had the usual Swiss breakfast, coffee with hot milk, delicious rolls, sweet butter and clear honey. . . . . We walked slowly up to a little pavilion from which we saw the whole lake, Brienz and Interlaken, with a bit of the Thunersee. Home to a nice lunch, and then the rain poured in torrents. I regretted the Vierwaldstaettersee less than ever. Getting up just now to see the steamer go out, I caught a strong whiff of tobacco which seemed to come from her, but probably only from the terrace below."

June 27th. "We had rather a poor train to Luzern, but a very lovely mountain journey again. . . . The clouds hung too low to see plainly, but we caught glimpses

of the Wetterhorn and Pilatus, also of the Vierwaldstaettersee, much like what we have seen. . . . . Lunched at Zuerich, then on to Neuhausen and Rheinfall. Next morning to Tuebingen." June 30th. "Adolph took me to his fraternity house, the old place rebuilt so successfully, which we already had in pictures. We were shown round by a young fellow from Esslingen who treated the old 'fellow' as if he were the king at least. To the castle was only a few steps, and we went about a little there. The chapel was closed where Adolph had preached his 'Angel of Philadelphia' sermon." July 3d. "Today dinner with the Abeggs. . . . Their apartment is in a house that is four hundred and fifty years old, an odd, ramshackle affair. One of the windows looked out on the quaintest bit of Tuebingen I have yet seen, a narrow alley, with century-old houses, and worn stone stairs between them,—a bit right out of Hans Christian Andersen. A single gutter was cut in the centre of the five or six foot wide street, and all was as clean as clean could be. A stork flew by as we sat on the balcony, and it was altogether one of the strangest, most interesting, dreamlike experiences of this wonderful summer."

On the fifth of July we left Tuebingen for Salzburg, and on the seventh reached Reichenau, where we spent five quiet weeks with the dear ones there, varied with lovely drives up the mountains, a trip to the Semmering, and many interesting walks. On Sunday Dr. Spaeth held service regularly in the Villa, following the order of the Kirchenbuch. For the birthday celebration our "Hausgemeinde" was augmented by the arrival of one of our sons, and we held a full liturgical service, with all the responses sung. Our good friends, accustomed only to the empty forms of the Austrian State Church, found that ours had "so much more heart in them." The parish priest, quite an intelligent gentleman, who

called on us and was much interested in liturgics and the Kirchenbuch, was even quite sure that Adolph "would not be considered a Lutheran, in Berlin!" About the middle of August we went to Vienna for a few days, accompanied by our daughter. The Ring, the galleries, the shops, the parks, the "show places" in general are fine. The rest of the city we found monotonous and dreary. One evening we were to go to the Volksgarten, where the music is very good, but were fortunately too tired. Next day we learned that there had been a riot there among the turbulent Czech element, and seven hundred police had been called out.

On the sixteenth of August we took the fine Oriental express for Ulm, whence a short ride brought us to Blaubeuren for the re-union on the seventeenth. Fifteen out of twenty-four survivors of the Promotion were present, with a few ladies. We wandered through the picturesque cloister, saw the chapel which was in process of restoration, and the quaint old town, walked along the Blautopf, and then sat down to a very good dinner and gave ourselves up to reminiscence. There was much to say about a certain "Paeuli" (pronounced Pylee), the pretty daughter of a teacher in the Real-Schule, who had been the "flame of the whole Promotion." A telegram of congratulation, ostensibly from Paeuli, was produced by Professor Euting. Another member of the Promotion had brought along a very diminutive sheet, probably a number of *Satura,* illustrated with a pen and ink drawing of Paeuli coquetting with a love-lorn representative of the Promotion, and Papa in the background with a large bundle of switches. *"I* made that!" exclaimed Dr. Spaeth, and sure enough, in one corner were the tiny initials A. S. The same evening we were in Friedrichshafen, and on the twenty-second sailed from Hamburg on the President Grant. On the second of September, exactly three months after we left home, we were safely in Mt. Airy.

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICA. FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE

1864-1910

> Wenn es Gottes Wille ist dass ich graue Haare erlebe, will ich doch ein Juengling bleiben in lebendigem Eifer und in der Begeisterung fuers Wahre und Gute; und der Mann soll sich nur darin zeigen dass diese Begeisterung sich nicht mehr auf falsche, unwuerdige Gegenstaende wirft, sondern die wahren und hoechsten Lebensziele ergreift.—*Tagebuch,* 1864.

Dr. Spaeth's familiarity with so much that is beautiful in nature and art abroad, never made him less appreciative of things nearer home. A sunset viewed from his own porch, a bunch of delicate or gorgeous wild flowers gathered in the neighboring meadows, the quiet sea lightly quivering under the soft silvery moonbeams, or the same sea lashed into fury by a September gale—filled him with pleasure. When he first arrived in Philadelphia Fairmount Park consisted mainly of a narrow strip on the east side of the Schuylkill, connected with the old water works. Toward the end of the sixties the plan took shape, of extending the Park on both sides of the river as far as, and including, the romantic Wissahickon Valley. This plan, conceived in large measure for protecting Philadelphia's drinking water from contamination, has given this city a park almost unequalled in the whole world for extent and natural beauty. A brother-in-law of Dr. Spaeth, a great traveller in the Orient, was delighted with the prospect from the height back of George's Hill which reminded him of

the view of Damascus. "In praising the loveliness of our Park I speak from fullest personal experience. My most pleasant hours of leisure were spent on its shores, in its quiet hollows and shady thickets. At first with my wife and sister and later with the growing boys, many a free afternoon we enjoyed its wonderful beauty and refreshed our brick-weary eyes with its fresh verdure and bubbling fountains." (Erinnerungen.)

TRAVEL IN AMERICA

Either with Mrs. Spaeth or with friends Dr. Spaeth visited many places of interest in the Eastern States; Niagara Falls several times, Boston, Newport, the Hudson River, the Adirondacks and the Catskills. His attendance at Synod and the General Council made him acquainted with most of the important cities on the Atlantic seaboard, and as far west as St. Paul and Minneapolis. Charleston and Savannah were his furthest points south. On such journeys he seldom found time for detailed letters, and in those busy years the Diary also was much neglected. His visit to Gettysburg was due partly to his lively interest in military matters, and partly to his hope of collecting material there for the Krauth Biography on which he was then at work.

December 29, 1885. "I started with John (Krauth) for the battlefield immediately after breakfast. With the help of a good pair of horses we 'did' it in about three hours. We first went straight up to Cemetery Hill along the Baltimore Pike, visiting the batteries there on which the fearful onslaught of the Louisiana Tigers was made. From there to Culp's Hill, then back to the Emmitsburg Road, and to the extreme point of the left wing of the Union army where the severe fighting took place, on the afternoon of July 2d. Then

we turned to the left through the wild and rocky defiles of the Devil's Den up to Little Round Top, where a magnificent panorama of the battlefield opened before our eyes. After descending we drove along the 'Avenue' laid out by the Battlefield Association, which marks the front of the Union centre on July third. This led us to the point of Pickett's Charge. . . . . I saw the place of the Pittsburgh Battery where Frank Weyman was wounded. On reaching the town again we drove out the Chambersburg Road as far as 'Reynolds' Woods' returning by the Mummasburg Road back of Pennsylvania College, thus taking in the field of the first day's battle. I don't think any other battlefield in the world is so clearly lined out and so beautifully marked in its most prominent spots, as this. And I am very glad to have had this opportunity of going in reality over what was, to my imagination, already well known ground. After dinner Dr. Hay called, as Dr. Wolf and Professor Croll had done the evening before, and after a little chat we started together for the Seminary. I climbed up to the cupola and enjoyed the extensive view from there; then through the library to Dr. Hay's house where I sat in pleasant talk in his study,—your grandfather's kitchen." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

THE EXPOSITION IN BUFFALO

During the meeting of the Convocation of Church Musicians in Buffalo Dr. Spaeth saw something of the Exposition. Of this he writes: "The architectural arrangements and *ensemble* interested me more than the exhibits themselves. The plan of the whole and the peculiar Spanish-South-American style of architecture are admirable. We paid a visit to our new 'citizen subjects' the Philipinos, who have a complete village with stores, manufactures, games, sorcerers and theatre. A

very creditable band of ten young Philipinos, with three violins, the rest all guitars of different sizes down to a very bass guitar, played the overture to a Spanish opera, and accompanied some singers and dancers in their national costumes, all very proper and decent. The poor fellows had to wind up with the 'Star-Spangled Banner' for which, as an object lesson, an American flag descended from the loft over the stage. This performance was rather too much for me, and I am sorry to confess—after my speech on Saturday night—I left the theatre during the national air!* The greatest charm of the Exposition is undoubtedly the electric illumination for which Niagara furnishes the power. Words utterly fail me to describe the heavenly beauty of the moment when the whole mass of buildings with their elaborate and rich architectural outlines, begin to glow and glisten like myriads of stars that had descended to earth to adorn the work of human hands. O for a choir to intone at that moment, and on that spot, 'Jerusalem, Du hochgebaute Stadt!'" (A. S. to H. R. S.)

CHARLESTON AND SAVANNAH

November 17, 1894. "Two weeks ago, the first time that I went so far south, I visited Savannah and Charleston. In the latter city I preached the festival sermon in English, for the combined Reformation Service of the four Lutheran churches there. In Savannah, one hundred and fifteen miles further south, they celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Lutheran congregation, which is connected with the immigration of the persecuted Salz-

* At the celebration of Deutscher Tag, just before leaving for the Convocation, he had paid a glowing tribute to the stars and stripes. But German American *citizens*, and 'citizen-subjects,' from the Philippines were two very different propositions to him.

burgers, in the thirties of the last century. From Sunday until Thursday I delivered four sermons, two English and two German, in these two cities, and rejoiced in the warm, even enthusiastic interest in the Mother Church of the Reformation which I everywhere found. In both cities the German Lutherans form an important and influential element of the population, and are generally well to do, and much respected. In Charleston the city government is now mostly in the hands of respectable Germans, since the citizens broke up the misrule of an Irish 'Ring.' I enjoyed very much the days I spent in these cities, and everything was done to make my stay as pleasant as possible. I walked under palmettos, bananas and magnolias, visiting many places which, through our great Civil War have become historical, such as Fort Sumter, where in February, 1861, the Confederates fired for the first time on the national flag." (A. S. to Hole.)

"On Saturday forenoon we went to the church (St. Matthew's) which has an excellent location in the centre of the city on a large open square opposite the old citadel. It is a beautiful building with the highest spire in Charleston (265 feet) always the first object seen as you approach the city either by land or sea. In the afternoon a brother-in-law of Pastor Mueller took us out for a pleasant drive, first to Magnolia Cemetery with its beautiful moss-bearded live-oaks, and a most excellent monument to the confederate soldiers. We then drove through the whole length of the city, down to the Battery. It resembles exactly the location of New York between the Hudson and East River, Charleston stretching to its Battery point between the Cooper and Ashley rivers. The Park at the Battery and the magnificent residences fronting on that semi-circle of a seaside promenade are among the finest I have seen in any city." On Sunday morning he labored under the

disadvantage of having had a sleepless night, but after a few hours' rest he found "the service in the evening truly inspiring. We walked in procession into the large church which was densely crowded by at least twelve hundred people. The Vestrymen of all the Lutheran congregations led the procession and the six officiating pastors followed in their robes. . . . The American element outside of the Lutheran Church was strongly represented. Even the Jewish Rabbi attended and, of course, a Roman Catholic Professor whose wife is a Lutheran."

He anticipated a delightful trip to Fort Sumter, which, however, "turned out rather venturesome and adventurous. The naphtha launch was a homoeopathic edition of a steamer, and with the stiff northwest breeze, which stirred up the whitecaps in the bay, it soon proved to be a rather ricketty affair. Everything went pretty well except for an occasional shower of salt water when the waves dashed over our bow. But within a hundred yards of the walls of Fort Sumter we suddenly received a tremendous shock, and found ourselves stranded. When the young men who had charge of the boat managed to get her afloat again, the screw and the bar on which it revolved were so bent and damaged that the machinery refused to work. We dropped anchor, and the two men worked for half an hour up to their armpits in water, to repair damages. It was by no means an enjoyable situation. Being at anchor we caught the full force of the wind and shipped one wave after another. But we finally succeeded in getting across the narrow channel to Fort Moultrie, where we took the big steamer to return to the city." (A. S. to H. R. S.)

In January, 1906, Dr. Spaeth was in Charleston again, as the guest of the German Friendly Society at their one hundred and fortieth anniversary banquet.

"At noon we attended an informal 'breakfast' given by the Society in their hall. . . . After a two hours' rest we started for the banqueting hall. I walked in on the arm of the newly elected President, my friend Mr. Julius Jahntz. The orchestra struck up 'Lieb Vaterland kannst ruhig sein!' and during the whole evening one sweet 'Volkslied' followed the other, either played by the band or sung by an excellent quartette of young members of the Society. The hall was most excellent to speak in, acoustically." (A. S. to H. R. S.) Dr. Spaeth responded to the first regular toast of the evening, "Our Founders and their Fatherland" in English, showing a surprising acquaintance with local history and tradition. The hall in which the banquet was held was beautifully decorated; the stage was set with a lovely scene from old Nuernberg, with a palm grove (!) in front which concealed the musicians.

On the following day, "after a fine collation at the home of Mr. Jahntz the whole company, some twenty-four gentlemen, drove to the harbor where we boarded the Government tug-boat which was to carry us to Fort Sumter. The officers were exceedingly attentive and kind to us. It is very seldom that anyone is allowed to land at the fort and inspect the battery. The men were ordered to handle the giant guns for us, so that we could understand the whole machinery, the raising, turning, aiming, etc. We were even taken down into the bomb-proof casemates where the smokeless powder is stored. After our return we went to the finest Club House in Charleston for a glass of champagne. . . . . My life here is just one continuous picnic where my well trained German student's digestion is expected to do its level best to keep afloat! . . . . Well, it will soon be over, and we will enjoy our plain, rational home life more than ever." (A. S. to H. R. S.) Before leaving Charleston Dr. Spaeth greatly enjoyed

an excursion to Summerville "in the lovely pine woods" and inspected the tea-plantation there. On the train to Philadelphia the same evening his attention was attracted by a distinguished looking gentleman among his fellow travellers who seemed also attracted by him. They eyed one another askance during the long journey, but neither ventured on conversation. Several weeks later, when he was introduced to President Wilson of Princeton they exclaimed simultaneously: "Oh, it was *you!*"

The last visit to Charleston was made in 1907, the occasion being the laying of the cornerstone for the new Sunday school building of St. Matthew's church (Pastor Mueller), and the celebration of the Reformation festival by the united Lutheran congregations of the city. Dr. Spaeth preached in St. Matthew's in the morning, in German. In the evening the real celebration was held there, and he preached in English on the theme: Martin Luther; Romanist, Protestant, Catholic, to a very large audience.

MUSIC FESTIVALS

Naturally Dr. Spaeth's chief recreation was good music, and every effort to cultivate a taste for classical German music in America was sure of his sympathy. In May, 1882, he heard two concerts of the great Music Festival in New York, the Beethoven evening, and the Wagner matinée with Materna. This he found more satisfactory than the Beethoven concert, and his growing appreciation of Wagner dates from this production.

The *Kirchenbote* for May 23, 1903, contained a very appreciative article by Dr. Spaeth on the Bach Festival in Bethlehem, Pa., under the direction of Mr. J. F. Wolle. The festival lasted for six days, and the most important works of J. Sebastian Bach were produced

with wonderful exactness and finish, by a choir of more than one hundred voices. Dr. Spaeth found it almost too much at once for the audience to appropriate, not to speak of the enormous demand on the strength and endurance of the director, choir and orchestra. But if the provision were somewhat too ample and too comprehensive for so short a time, the arrangement of this material compelled admiration. The leading thought for the entire week was the coming of Christ, and His work of Redemption. On Monday evening the festival began with the "Choral Cantata," "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," as for Advent; . . . on Thursday the "St. Matthew Passion" was given, ... on Saturday the festival reached its height and closed with the incomparable "B minor Mass."

"From the eighth to the eleventh of May, 1905, the Schiller festival was celebrated in Philadelphia, well planned and carried out, a credit to our city. Only our Germans were not interested as they should have been. The Academy showed a beggarly array of empty benches. Monday I went to 'Tell,' Tuesday to the chief festival with two addresses . . . . and then the splendid performance of the 'Glocke' with Max Bruch's grand composition. That was a great treat. . . . . On May tenth, the anniversary in St. Johannis, I was of course in the church, but on the eleventh enjoyed very much the dramatic presentation, the 'Death of Wallenstein.'" (Diary.) For German Day in this year Dr. Spaeth chose for the theme of his festival address, "Schiller's Germany."

THE PHILADELPHIA ORCHESTRA

He took great interest in the development of the Philadelphia Orchestra under the leadership of Fritz Scheel. The first notice of the orchestra in the Diary

is dated February 10, 1905. "This afternoon heard Richard Strauss' Symphonie Domestica which pleased me about as much as if one should copy a *genre* picture of Ludwig Richter, magnified and exaggerated indefinitely, on a canvas the size of a wall, and in the colors of Tintoretto. In comparison, Wagner's music, 'Karfreitagszauber' and 'Tannhaeuser Overture,' was actually a relief!" November 3, 1905. "Philadelphia Orchestra concert. Much more satisfactory than the last, with its barbarous Slavic rumpus (Spektakel)." November 10, 1905. "The concert this afternoon was really a great delight; Beethoven's Eroica, which might have been played with a little more warmth and vim, Gadski with the two Arias from Tannhaeuser, 'Dich, teure Halle' and Elisabeth's prayer, Schubert, Brahms, the latter with special fire and understanding. That was once more through and through *German* music,—and how refreshing and rejuvenating it all sounds to me!"

In March, 1907, Fritz Scheel died. His funeral was held in the Church of the Holy Communion, and attended by an immense throng of his admirers. Dr. Spaeth made the German address. His acquaintance with the *man* had been but slight, consisting in a correspondence on Church Music before Mr. Scheel took charge of the orchestra, and one evening spent with him after the concert of the Leipzig orchestra. But as *Director* he knew him well; he sympathized with his high aims, and rejoiced in his successes. Dr. Spaeth paid a glowing tribute to the director's enthusiasm for his art, to his skill, his tact, his judgment in combining the various types of nationality which found expression in music. He described his patient efforts to educate our public to higher standards, until he had won a large circle of hearers, who could understand and appreciate the treasures he offered to them. This address gave great satisfaction to the personal friends of Fritz Scheel,

many of whom expressed their gratification to Dr. Spaeth.

MUSIC AT HOME

Dr. Spaeth was much interested in the compositions of Friedrich Mergner, which were given to him by the composer's daughter, Sister Julie, the head of the Lankenau School for Girls. He took special delight in the melodies for Gerhardt's hymns, several of which were often sung by his choir. Through Dr. Spaeth a number of the Mergner settings were later included in the "Chor Buch" of William Merker, largely made up of material used in St. Johannis. Friedrich Mergner also published a volume of secular songs, which were often demanded by the children when Dr. Spaeth sat at the piano. One special favorite, familiarly known in the family as "Es ist die Katz'!" was the moan of a German "Mariana," he cometh not! But happily in Mergner's song he came at last!

In 1892 Dr. Spaeth's eldest son was in London at the time of Tennyson's funeral in Westminster Abbey, and sent home the very beautiful setting of "Crossing the Bar" by Dr. J. Fredk. Bridges, which was sung on that occasion. Happening to have guests who completed a quartette Dr. Spaeth was able to sing this fascinating music over and over again, as his custom was when something pleased him. He translated the words, not entirely to his own satisfaction,* and they were used frequently by his choir. This translation will be found in the Program for the Memorial Service on All Saints' Day, 1910.

*"We have attempted to reproduce this poem in German. It is not an easy task with anything written by Tennyson, where every word, every syllable, is so highly polished, and contains a wealth of thought which it is difficult to force into the same rigid bounds in our own language, with its superabundance of words." (A. S. in *Zeitschrift*, November 26, 1892.)

As his children grew up Dr. Spaeth was able, for several years, to have the hymns at family worship or other home gatherings sung *a cappella* in full harmony, in which he took the tenor part. In summer, when excursions were made across the Delaware Bay or on the Sounds near Cape May, the lunch basket was never considered complete without a few copies of the "Liederlust" with its lovely songs of the goodness of God, and the wonders of creation.

MISCELLANEOUS COMPOSITIONS

A shabby, well worn little volume in Dr. Spaeth's library was a copy of the poems of Eduard Moerike, which had been given him in Tuebingen, Christmas, 1860, by five of his classmates, "Weigle, Sabel, Bard, Schneck and Waedle", all college nicknames probably. He was fond of Moerike, and set several of his songs to music. In Capri he met a very cultivated woman from the Baltic Provinces, a fine musician, an artist, well read, and an enthusiastic traveller, with whom he had much in common. She and her daughter held themselves a little aloof from the guests at the Faraglioni. But toward the end of the winter the Diary records: "This evening my 'Baltin' really thawed. The conversation turned on Eduard Moerike, my dear Swabian compatriot, and I found that Frau von W. esteems him just as highly as I do. She began to recite: 'Frueh, wann die Haehne kraehen,' and before I knew what I was about I sat at the piano, and was playing my music to it. Then 'Rohtraut, schoen Rohtraut' naturally followed, and 'Drei Tage Regen fort und fort.' All of them seemed to find favor with my rather critical hearer. Then we came to the Rueckert 'Kindertodtenlieder' which were entirely unknown to her. I played all of them and sang one or two; also my Arndt's war song,

'All Deutschland in Frankreich hinein' which was encored by Fraeulein von W."

This list fairly covers Dr. Spaeth's miscellaneous compositions. In 1902 the Rhode Island State Society of the Cincinnati offered a gold medal for a substitute for the tune "God Save the King" to which the "National Anthem" is always sung. Dr. Spaeth wrote a tune but did not consider it worth sending in for the competition. The Rueckert Lieder are printed in the "Liederlust."

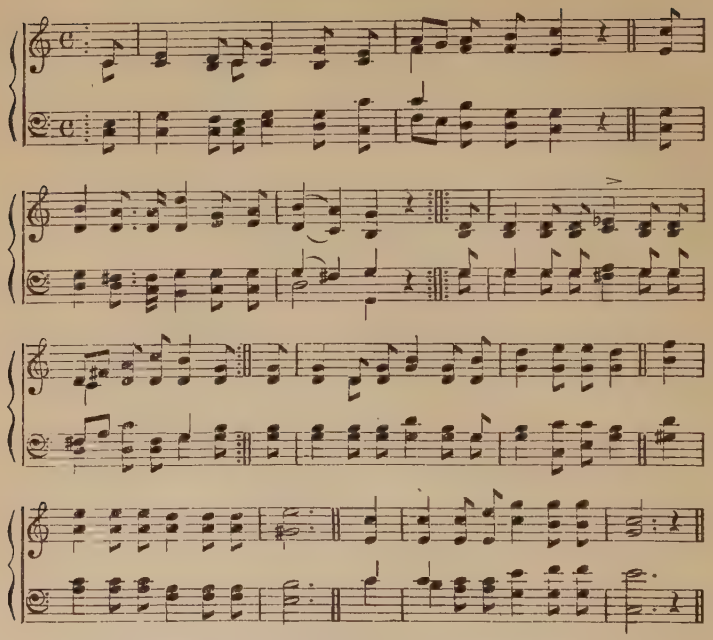
The Arndt song won great favor with Frau Oberin Wanda von Oertzen, who even spoke of having it arranged for the royal military band in Berlin,—some of these days! These verses were written in 1840, and quoted in Pastor Spaeth's lecture on Ernst Moritz Arndt, 1871. The melody was composed either when the lecture was delivered, or very soon afterwards. It is the first of his compositions that has been preserved, and in its swing and sharp accentuation well expresses the defiant self-confidence of the words;—the sentiment

"Conquer we must
For our cause it is just,"

which is the underlying motive of so many German war songs.

This and "Schoen Rohtraut" were the songs that Dr. Spaeth liked best of all his lighter compositions. But as the lines of "Schoen Rohtraut" are very irregular, requiring adaptation of the music to each verse, and as the compass of the melody is too great for ordinary voices, it is not given here.

Arndt's Lied



Und brauset der Sturmwind des Krieges heran,
Und wollen die Waelschen ihn haben,
So sammle mein Deutschland dich stark wie ein Mann
Und bringe die blutigen Gaben;
Und bringe das Schrecken und bringe das Grauen
Von all deinen Bergen, aus all deinen Gauen
Und klinge die Loosung: Zum Rhein! Ueber'n Rhein!
||: All Deutschland in Frankreich hinein! :||

Sie wollen's, so reisse denn deutsche Geduld!
Reiss durch von dem Belt bis zum Rheine!
Wir fordern die lange gestundete Schuld—
Auf Waelsche und ruehret die Beine!
Wir wollen im Spiele der Schwerter und Lanzen
Den wilden, den blutigen Tanz mit euch tanzen.
Wie klinget die Loosung: Zum Rhein! Ueber'n Rhein!
||: All Deutschland in Frankreich hinein! :||

Mein einiges Deutschland, mein freies, heran!
Wir wollen ein Liedlein euch singen
Von dem, was die schleichende List euch gewann,
Von Strassburg und Metz und Lothringen!
Zurueck sollt ihr zahlen! Heraus sollt ihr geben!
So stehe der Kampf uns auf Tod und auf Leben!
So klinge die Loosung: Zum Rhein! Ueber'n Rhein!
||: All Deutschland in Frankreich hinein! :||

DR. SPAETH AS HOUSE-FATHER

After the death of Mrs. Spaeth in 1878 the Diary frequently refers to the unaccustomed responsibility laid upon the young father. "O, how we miss the mother! I shall have much to learn,—very much!" "I am so sorry for the children on Sunday. Maria always devoted herself so specially to them then. I must give up what I can, so as to be more to my family." He made the older boys his companions as far as possible, taking them with him to concerts and picture galleries. For the little ones he was fortunate in having faithful caretakers in the house, all members of his congregation. On her deathbed Mrs. Spaeth had committed the children to each of them personally, and they all remained at their post for the two years that Dr. Spaeth was alone. The Diary has many allusions to his "comforter;" little Martin, and to Ernst, a most original and captivating child. The *Jugendfreund* for April, 1879, contained a story of little (Ernst) Philip and his Angel, so tender, so playful, that it illustrates this period of his life better than any description could.

"Little Philip had gone to visit his uncle. It was just at Christmas time and the tree was still standing, with all the pretty things on it. 'Choose something for yourself from my tree' said the kind uncle; 'Whatever you like you may take with you.' The sturdy little Philip did not wait for a second bidding; but, instead of taking whatever came first, he looked up and down,

round and round, over the whole tree, for our Philip is a very wary little gentleman. He sought long and shook his head, and did not seem to find what he wanted. At last he said, 'Have you no Angel on your tree?' and then the uncle began to help in the search and, sure enough, at the very top, hidden among the twigs there hung a little angel of paper and tinsel, with glistening, golden wings,—just what Philip wanted. . . . . Now Easter is nearly here, but little Philip still has his Christmas angel. The other playthings are mostly already lost, or broken, or put away, but the fragile little angel with its crown of stars is still well and cheerful. No wonder, when one sees how Philip cares for it. . . . When the weather grew colder, he thought the poor angel must be chilly in its gilt-paper skirt, so he hunted up a few bits of cloth, and sewed them into a fine petticoat or overcoat as you may choose to call it. And when the other children laughed at him he said with perfect composure: 'Do you think Angels have no clothes?'

"At every meal the angel takes its place by Philip's plate, and because the little man knows that everyone must wear a 'bib' at the table, of course the angel must have one too, and Philip made the bib himself, though he is far from being an expert tailor. And the angel is very patient and allows the bib to be put on every day without struggling and grumbling like Philip's big brothers, who are not angels at all. But when Philip is busy with spoon and fork there is not much for the angel . . . . and this is fortunate. The angel could not stand Philip's diet, nor could Philip live on air as the angel does. In this way they both thrive, Philip on noodles, the angel on air! A few times to be sure, the poor angel has been obliged to go to the hospital, not because he had spoiled his stomach, but because someone had taken him too roughly by the

wings. And then Papa has come to the rescue with his good salve (out of the mucilage bottle) and has packed the angel into bed between two heavy books, and—*probatum est!*—that always cured him quickly.

"This is the story of little Philip and his angel. It is good that Philip loves it and cares for it so faithfully. But still better is it that a real, heavenly Angel hovers unseen over Philip and his brothers and sister, and that God has given *that* Angel charge over them, to keep them in all their ways."

The daily life in the parsonage was very German, almost patriarchal in its simplicity and order. The father was the Priest of his family, and its supreme head. As far as possible a military precision governed the apportionment of the day, especially for little children. The "servants" were called by that old-fashioned and honorable name, but shared in all the religious life and in all festivals of the family. To specially intimate friends or to guests staying in the house they were usually introduced in an informal way. But they were properly embarrassed if a well-meaning guest attempted to draw them into conversation at the table where they were serving. They always had their seat in the pastor's pew in church, and great was Dr. Spaeth's astonishment and pleasure, on the first Sunday that the full *Gloria in Excelsis* was used in St. Johannis, to hear it sung absolutely correctly and with much spirit in his own pew. The form was taken from Bavarian sources, and his faithful old Margaret who ruled the parsonage kitchen happened to be a "Baierin," and had learned it in her youth. Margaret was a character, of whom many anecdotes are still told in the family. She herself was a martinet with the children, but their staunch defender when anyone else applied discipline. On one occasion little Ernst had just visited the "Zoo," and was eagerly giving his experiences at the 'logical garden.

Margaret lost patience at last: "Dummer Kerl! Why do you always say 'logical garden? Can't you *ever* learn to say *'Theological?'* "

In the earlier years Dr. Spaeth gave himself up to the children during the vacation in Cape May Point, only returning to the city over Sunday or for any pastoral duty in the congregation, where he had no assistant at that time. In the summer of 1880 he wrote a letter to the *Jugendfreund,* ostensibly as one of the boys. "Dear *Jugendfreund,* If it will not tire you I will send you a little note from the salty, fresh sea air of Cape May Point. We have had a great company of your readers, young and old, mostly from St. Johannis, Philadelphia, who with their pastor are spending a few days for recreation at the shore. The days about the Fourth of July were especially lively. On Sunday, which was really the Fourth, we held a German service in the parlor of Stockton Cottage. Our beautiful morning service was used from beginning to end, just as on Sunday morning in the church at home. Instead of the organ we had a good piano, and instead of the organist our dear Frank, who accompanied us in the responses and chorales. Our pastor preached on Independence Day from the text 'As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.' Willie made a very dignified elder, and took up the collection which was for Foreign Missions. In the afternoon we had Sunday school. There was only one class from the old fathers and mothers down to little Ernst, and only one teacher, our pastor, who catechised young and old, right and left.

"Next day, the fifth, we young ones wanted our fun. It was decided to build a large fort, not of granite nor founded on a rock, but out of the sand by the sea. You must not think that our pastor sat at home and left us young fellows alone. Oh no! he took the spade and

helped vigorously. He even laid out the whole fort, and told us stories while he was doing it, how, in Scotland, he and his pupils had once set up batteries on the shore, and had shot at them with real cannon. That must have given a different report from our little mosquitoes of fire-crackers! Then you ought to have seen the rush. Everybody helped with shovels and little spades so that the sand wall grew fast. . . . . By the evening of the sixth the fort was finished, eight feet high, one hundred and fifteen feet around, and had safely withstood a storm and the high tide. At sunset we were all assembled at 'Martin's Fort.' The Stars and Stripes waved gaily from all its walls. The tide came roaring in and filled the trenches, so that it stood like an island in the surf. A board was thrown across for a bridge, and then old and young stood inside and sang with one voice that sent a mighty sound over the water: 'Ein feste Burg' and 'Wie mit grimmgen Unverstand Wellen sich erheben.' And although we built with sand and on sand, to this day our Martin's Fort is not washed away. True, the trenches are choked with sand, and the walls are so low that the boys jump over them, but the fort still stands. If you come down soon we will take you there.

"Cordially yours,

"STOCKTON."

ROSENEATH COTTAGE

Sea Grove was founded about 1876 by the Presbyterians, who intended to build up there a denominational resort somewhat like that of the Methodists in Ocean Grove. A pavilion was built for public worship, from which the principal streets radiated like the spokes of a wheel. Lots were offered to clergymen of other denominations, on which cottages were erected, simple,

and rather monotonous in plan, but well built.* The specifically Calvinistic character of the settlement was short-lived. The pavilion was removed to Cape May, where it was converted into a saloon. The name Sea Grove, justified by a very pretty belt of oak and pine woods back of the village, was too much like Ocean Grove, causing confusion in the mails, and in 1880 was changed to Cape May Point.

Dr. Spaeth had already purchased a lot in Ocean Grove, but Mrs. Spaeth, for whom the summer home was most necessary, found Sea Grove so much more attractive, that he was glad to avail himself of the opportunity there offered, and the house was completed in July, 1876. Thenceforward there were three high festivals in the children's calendar, Christmas, the tenth of May, and the day when they shook the city dust from their feet, and went down to the sea.

One pretty touch in the Life of Dr. Mann is the statement that he often "painted the paper dolls." Among Dr. Spaeth's quiverful of hardy boys there was no demand for paper dolls, but he was a master in the art of kite-building. With the greatest care the frame was made and covered, then, when the immense kite was finished, the tail was a matter of a few minutes. It bore no resemblance to the elegant affair of a bob and a space alternately as pictured in the old-fashioned Readers. A torn-up sheet or potato sack, or a scrap of rope,—anything to add the requisite weight, and the kite was ready. If the wind was right the restive monster was carried to the top of the lighthouse hill, and attached to the children's express wagon. Then, with one of the little ones steering, and all the rest

*Dr. Morris wrote more as humorist than as historian when he said, in 1886: "Several of our men accepted the offer and put up wretched shanties,—half canvas, half shingle,—and occupied them, trying to make believe they were comfortable."

shouting in the rear, the kite was released, and the wagon rolled smoothly down to the level road, about a quarter of a mile. Once a clerical neighbor of slender build had the pleasure of taking this exciting trip, to the uproarious delight of the boys. And several times such a kite drew the flat-bottomed boat belonging to the children, the entire length of Lily Lake, also about a quarter of a mile.

For more than twenty years Cape May Point possessed the same broad, smooth beach which is one of the features of Cape May. At the height of the rage for bicycle riding Dr. Spaeth was able to assemble a company of seven or eight members of his household, all mounted, with whom he executed cavalry manœuvers on the beach. Under his energetic and enthusiastic direction the participants became quite skillful, and the drill attracted much attention.

Now and then, especially when we had guests in the crabbing season, half a day was spent on the Sounds. The Captain with one man, managed the boat, and manipulated the crab-net. The passengers enjoyed the quiet sailing from one smooth inlet to another, filled their crab-bag, ate their luncheon, sang their German songs, and came home in good time for a surf-bath, tired, sunburned, and very happy. Once Dr. Spaeth achieved greatness, and won a name in local history by catching a flounder with his twine and bait, instead of a crab. Whenever he appeared after that, the old sailors would nudge one another and whisper huskily, "That's him!"

Dr. Spaeth's favorite work in Cape May Point was the tending of his garden. He had brought in all the top-soil and planted all the cedars, and had sodded and sown the grass plat over and over again. After the first years he gave little attention to flowers, beyond trimming and training the roses and trumpet-creepers

clambering over the porch, whose luxuriant growth distinguished his cottage above all the rest. His chief pride was the bit of green in front and the gravel walk around it. To keep the grass growing in the one, and to keep it from growing in the other, gave him employment with sprinkler and edging knife and hoe, five days in the week. And he accepted it as the sweet reward for honest toil, when some one in passing would say, "How homelike!"

BRIERBOURNE

The twenty years of Dr. Spaeth's residence in the parsonage on Girard Avenue included the greatest trials, the deepest sorrows, the most painful bereavements of his life, and yet they cannot be called unhappy years. His work, which seemed an overwhelming burden to others, was congenial work. He loved his pulpit, his class room, his church music, his Sunday school. He was entirely happy in the festivals on the tenth of May, and every year watched the little ones as they brought their flowers to the altar, with the same tender light on his face. No birthday, no anniversary was ever forgotten in the parsonage, and the house father was the centre of the family life.—Then came the few tragic years when his overtaxed strength had given way. He was "an old man before his time" the Doctors said. But just when all seemed hopelessly lost, the way opened for a new home, a new lease of life, and nearly twenty years more of new activity in Mt. Airy.

The residence built for Dr. Spaeth on the Seminary grounds was planned for his comfort and convenience in every detail. His study was the heart of the house. He liked a warm room, so in one wall were two sunny windows and the main chimney; the other three carried the heat flues to the upper floor. A bright little smoking-

den opened out toward the Seminary, and in winter this was (theoretically at least) gay with blooming plants. A few steps brought him to the upper porch overlooking the garden, where he could exercise in bad weather, or enjoy the west wind after a sultry day. When the full moon shone over the garden which, in a few years, was filled with rare and beautiful trees, this porch became an ideal place for gathering the family about him. In the first year Dr. Spaeth took a child-like pleasure in showing this new toy to his friends. Pastor Goedel paid probably the most appreciative and best appreciated tribute when he said emphatically: "This house has *character!*"

At first the garden could not compete with the beloved grass plat in Cape May Point. He who had done so much with white sand could not believe in the possibilities of yellow clay. But gradually, when the trees had grown over his head, and over the house itself at last, when the borders were rich in spring with the Scylla and Hepatica, the primroses and violets which he had known in his childhood in Germany, when thousands of Narcissus bloomed all over the place, to be followed by peonies and roses and lilies, he became interested in this growing paradise, and finally very proud and fond of it. He rarely did any work in the Brierbourne * garden. His delight was in finding the first violet (about which everyone else was discreetly silent until he discovered it) and in cutting the asparagus, cultivated for his special benefit. He had never studied botany, but in later years took great pleasure in calling things by their botanical names, of which he had picked up a number.

* Named for the foamy mass of Wichuraiana roses which fell over the wall at the front, turning it to a snowdrift in late June.

HOME FESTIVALS

The Advent light was an institution in the family almost from the beginning. It was adopted from the Rauhe Haus, where at first it had taken the form of a tree, with graduated rings fastened to it, on which the lights were placed. Probably owing to danger of fire, or perhaps to distinguish it from the Christmas tree, this was later replaced by a wooden ring suspended by chains, and with room for twenty-eight candles. On the first Sunday in Advent a candle was lit, and the children recited the promise of the Seed of the Woman which should bruise the serpent's head. Each night one more taper was kindled and another Messianic prophecy was repeated. Great was the jubilation when the tiny lights became so numerous that the father could read by them, for that meant that Christmas was very near. One evening in Advent, 1900, the home circle was augmented by the Leipzig Quartette, but this was family worship. The father gave out the simplest of our Advent hymns, "Es kommt ein Schiff geladen," the mother took her place at the harmonium, and children and guests sang and said their verses together.

Dr. Spaeth always selected the Christmas tree himself, with a very critical eye to its color, and shape and height, and the spread of the branches. In the early years in Philadelphia he had great difficulty in finding a tree, but that he was always successful may be inferred from the first entry on this subject in the Diary. December 23, 1867. "Out with Maria to buy the Christmas tree. Nearly ready by evening, and *more beautiful than ever.*" The observance of the festival was very simple, and for three generations in America the traditions of the Swabian home have been perpetuated. In 1861, in a poem called "Christmas among Strangers," after sitting "lonely and sad in the gloomiest corner of

the room where the night shadows were falling," the homesick young Vicar emptied his heart in verses describing how the mother was even then bringing out the modest gifts from her secret stores and spreading them on the tables covered with fair linen. Along the dark green branches of the tree the flickering points of flame sprang in joyful haste, until, when the highest taper was lit, the radiance betrayed the secret even in the dark hall where the impatient little ones waited for the signal to come in. And then the merry tumult rose, the seeking and finding, the fulfilment of many wishes, the surprises of which one had not dreamed, and mother must see everything, and admire everything, and submit to no end of hugging and kissing, and grateful pressure of the dear hand that had performed all these miracles.

Even on that sad Christmas of 1878, when the wife and mother had been carried out of the parsonage only two days before, the tree was not forgotten. It was her wish that the children should have it, "but only with the lights on it." And the brave young father prepared for the festival, though with a heavy heart and dim eyes, and wrote in his Diary: "The children are often too noisy for me, and too merry,—just as children always are, who can scarcely wait for Christmas." Gradually to the familiar old Christmas hymns were added all the treasures from the Sonntagschulbuch, and even the youngest child sat contentedly on father's or mother's knee, gazing round-eyed on the tree, while we sang one after another, closing with "Kripplein, o Weihnachtskripplein," the most beautiful of them all, but the despair of the translator. . . . . And in 1904 the Diary says: "Hans and Marie were at our Bescheerung with the darling baby, who was christened Dorothea on the eighth of November, in the Seminary chapel. For the first time the Christmas candles were

reflected from the bright eyes of a grandchild! Thank God for this precious gift!"

Sylvester evening, December 31st, was the formal close of the Christmas festival, and the tree was always replenished with fresh candles. In 1905 Sylvester fell on Sunday. Dr. Spaeth records: "I preached this morning on the 'Evening of Life in the radiance of Christmas' which seemed to do my old people good. . In the evening we lit the tree and sang our loveliest Christmas hymns. I read the 103d Psalm. Then we had our punch and sat together very happily until after ten. Adieu, 1905!"

ATHLETICS, RECREATION

Dr. Spaeth often referred to the walking and riding parties of his student days, and to his rowing and occasional shooting in Scotland. In Blaubeuren he had learned to bowl, and even in middle age liked to show his prowess in the bowling alley at Cape May Point. He was an enthusiastic surf bather, but never became an expert swimmer. And the games into which his sons entered with so much zeal and success, baseball and football, tennis, golf and what not—were sealed books to him. Once he was persuaded to see a game of college football, but did not care for it.

In games of skill, especially in chess, he was quite proficient, and usually won the game from ordinary players. Once he tried his fate with the automaton chess player, Ajeeb, in New York, and was quite astonished when he was dismissed with the courteous bow by which Ajeeb announced that his opponent was beaten. Dr. Spaeth would have liked to play that game out, but by a curious fatality, when, at rare intervals, Ajeeb seemed to be in danger of losing a game, there was a click and a whirr in the mechanism and, most unfortunately, everything came to a stop.

While Dr. Spaeth was in Capri, Mrs. Spaeth had written to him of her embarrassment at a children's party in Esslingen where the whole company, including her trio, were entertained by cards. Dr. Spaeth replied: "I can sympathize with your discomfort. . . . . Schleiermacher, in his 'Christian Ethics' goes so far as to make it the duty of a Christian in such a case, to join in the game for the sake of the comfort and pleasure of the players. It did not occur to the profound theologian that the 'Christian' might be so utterly ignorant of cards that his joining in the game would rather disturb the 'comfort and pleasure' of the party. Now, such scenes in the quiet family circle do not, as you properly say, call for a 'demonstration.' And yet, you cannot join in the game of cards, nor ought you to learn it. I think it is better not to know and not to play cards, however innocent some players and some games may be. In this view Dr. Krauth and Dr. Duncan exactly agreed, and your husband, though he was a clever card player in his student years, is fully of the same mind."

THE GUEST BOOK

Dr. Spaeth found no great charm in ordinary social "functions," and was even apt to be shy and uncomfortable where he was not sure of his surroundings. He enjoyed meeting distinguished men, or gathering with friends for the celebration of some important anniversary. Best of all he liked to have a few congenial guests in his own home. He was a charming narrator, with an endless fund of material from his own travel and experience, or from history, which he had absolutely at his command. He was also a good listener, drawing out the best that his visitor could impart. The Guest Book, unfortunately not introduced

until 1896, became in a few years a polyglot collection of kind wishes and quotations. From Dr. Nottrott's contribution of Mark 16: 15 in the language of the Kols, and a verse in Syriac from Dr. Schneller, through Pastor Fuente's Spanish version of "Ein feste Burg," and various bits of Polish, Russian, Peruvian, etc., unintelligible but none the less gratifying, one came to the border-land of Bishop von Scheele's Swedish greeting, and thence to familiar ground, the German of the Leipzig singers and many friends, and the English of Dr. Caspar René Gregory, and Dr. William Knight the compiler of the "Colloquia Peripatetica, by the late John Duncan, LL. D."

Through Dr. Spaeth's connection with Dr. Duncan he was on friendly terms with many prominent Presbyterians of Philadelphia, and always attended any great Presbyterian Convention held here. His Address at the Bi-centennial of Presbyterianism, 1906, was printed in the *Church Review* for October of that year. During the lifetime of his first wife they received many kind attentions from Mr. George H. Stuart, and visited him at his country place near the Delaware. With Dr. Wylie and his family, who spent most of their summers in Cape May Point, a pleasant friendliness was always maintained. Dr. Spaeth was also one of the Corporators of the Presbyterian Ministers' Fund, attending their meetings regularly.

One great pleasure in his later years was the meeting, at the Penn Club, with Dr. John Watson, Ian Maclaren, whose humorous or pathetic pictures of Scottish life are well known. One of his books, "Kate Carnegie," gives a wonderfully life-like sketch of "Rabbi Duncan" in the story of the Free Church minister, Saunderson. Dr. Watson could not have known Dr. Duncan personally; his portrayal was necessarily based on the recollections of older friends. While the circumstances

of his life were entirely different from those in which Rabbi Saunderson is placed, Dr. Spaeth could assure the author that the description of Dr. Duncan's character, his learning, his humility, his charity, his absent-mindedness and his frequent fits of depression, seemed like that of an eye witness. Dr. Saunderson uses the characteristic phrase "if I am spared." The story is told of Dr. Duncan that when he first visited the grave of his wife he said to the friend who accompanied him, "I, too, wish to be laid here,—if I am spared!"

CHAPTER XIV

THE YEARS OF COMPLETION

1907-1910

. . . . May there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea,
But such a tide as moving seems asleep
Too full for sound and foam
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home.—*Tennyson.*

For many years Dr. Spaeth had a foreboding that he would not live longer than his father had done. When the fatal forty-seventh year was past, he spoke of seventy years as the positive limit of his life. From this idea he never wavered. But the thought was not necessarily disturbing or painful. Rather this fixing of a definite term of life helped him to set his house in order, to complete whatever work remained unfinished, and gave to his declining years the quiet joy of harvest-home.

After preparing the Annotations on John for the press in the spring of 1896, Dr. Spaeth was forced to abandon the pen almost entirely owing to persistent neuritis, and to substitute the typewriter. He found the change very beneficial, and soon became quite proficient in his new accomplishment. Only to his old mother he still wrote regularly, as she expressed an utter contempt for "machine letters!" In 1899, after a snowstorm and blockade lasting forty-eight hours, he forced his way to the Seminary to attend a Faculty meeting. The utter prostration caused by this exertion resulted in a serious attack of Grippe, with a return

of asthmatic symptoms and complications involving the heart. After this he was always subject to acute attacks of Grippe, being laid aside nearly every winter for at least several days.

Toward the end of 1901 Dr. Spaeth writes: "In October I had a very fatiguing time in Buffalo with the Convocation for Church Music of which I am President, and the convention of the General Council in Lima, O., immediately afterwards. In ten days I delivered eight sermons or addresses, in German and English, and spent three nights in the sleeper. A cold which I took on the way brought on an attack of inflammatory rheumatism which my physician in Philadelphia looked upon as serious, fearing heart trouble. Since then I have been under the strictest diet, no meat, no eggs, no oatmeal, no red wine, all things which have been my chief dependence heretofore. I am better now, but feel as if a good deal of my old elasticity had departed under this new mode of living." (A. S. to E. W.)

In 1907 he was ill with Grippe over Christmas. The Line a Day notes: "Bescheerung (giving the presents) as usual, only without Adolph who is always the heart and soul of everything." Christmas Day. "No early service. No evening celebration in St. Johannis. We all ate turkey and I carried up panopeptin and an orange to my poor patient. He has terrible spasms of coughing, and goes nearly wild for dread of asthma. Later he asked me to read *Dies irae* in the original." By the twenty-seventh he was able to creep downstairs and baptize his first grandson. There was quite a company gathered in the parlor, but everyone had been warned not to speak to him, and he returned to bed, tired but unharmed. The Diary shows that during these years his thoughts turned very often to the approaching end. Hearing in one day of the death of two old members of St. Johannis he writes: "So they

go, one after the other! How soon will it be my turn!" After his seventieth birthday: "Now it is time after all, seriously to prepare for death. But the heart still hardens itself against that. God mend it!"

In spite of this gradual decline in his physical strength, Dr. Spaeth was never forced to give up any of his duties except while he was actually ill. As late as March 1, 1910, the Line a Day says: "Adolph very good-for-nothing, but busy all day. Three hours in the Seminary, four hours of Committee work. An English annotated edition of selections from Luther is planned. He is on the Committee for selecting and note writing."

In 1907 St. Johannis celebrated its fortieth anniversary on the thirteenth of October, the date of Dr. Spaeth's first sermon as Pastor, with a beautiful service. For several weeks extensive improvements and alterations had been going on in the church, including the setting of twelve stained glass windows. In a very short time, early in the summer, Dr. Spaeth had secured nearly $4,000 for this final embellishment of his beloved church. Most of the windows were given by families or individuals, usually as memorials. One of them was the gift of those who had been confirmed in St. Johannis during the last forty years. Not a single class was without representation on this subscription list. On the First Sunday in Advent the windows were consecrated. The alterations in the church made it seem much more spacious, and the newly frescoed walls with their quiet tone and simple ornamentation served as a fit setting for the handsome glass. Dr. Spaeth preached to a large congregation from the text: "Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty." For the following Easter the circular

windows in the west wall were replaced by two additional memorials, symbolizing the Singing St. Johannis in Liturgy and Chorale. On one an angel holds the scroll: *Gloria in Excelsis.* On the other the words on the scroll are "Jerusalem du hochgebaute Stadt." Later the Frauenverein contributed a very beautiful memorial to Mrs. Maria Duncan Spaeth who founded the Society. It represents St. John the Elder, and many find in the noble, tender face, the hoary head and the long white beard, something that recalls the "first Pastor."

The three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Paul Gerhardt was celebrated in St. Johannis on the tenth of March, 1907. Dr. Spaeth took as his text, Neh. 8: 10, "The joy of the Lord is your strength." The real birthday (12th) was kept in the Seminary, with the choir from St. Johannis and an English address by Dr. Spaeth. On the fourteenth the sermon of Sunday was repeated in the Drexel Home, and Dr. Spaeth spoke on the same theme in Selinsgrove (April 18th) in New Britain (May 3d) and for the Sunday school festival in St. Johannis, May 9th. On the twentieth of February, 1908, the centennial of Loehe's birth was marked by a service in the Seminary Chapel. Dr. Horn made the address. The St. Johannis choir sang "O Gottes Sohn" to the melody composed by Dr. Spaeth. Leaflets containing the English words were distributed in the pews. There was a fair attendance. In this same year the Diary contains the interesting note: "Sunday, September 29th, at the urgent request of the church council and the congregation I installed Hans Meyer as Pastor of the independent St. Paul's Church (founded by Emil Riecke). Here again one may say 'What hath God wrought!' Thirty-six years ago I should have been soundly beaten if I had ventured into that church."

"In November, 1907, I had a visit of several days,

here in Philadelphia, from my old bosom-friend in Blaubeuren, Otto Pfleiderer! He had been attending a Unitarian Congress in Boston, and wrote to ask whether he might visit me. He did not wish to leave the country without clasping the hand of his old friend once more. So he came and spent two days quite comfortably with us. He seemed highly interested in all my work. About his own work and his views of life he kept absolutely silent. On Sunday I took him in to St. Johannis where he had to listen to an orthodox sermon from his old friend.* I had included this from the beginning in the program of his visit, and he accepted the proposition with pleasure. During the service he took part in everything except the Apostles' Creed which, with us, is repeated every Sunday by the whole congregation. My good Berlin Professor kept silence at this point! In our Guest Book he wrote: 'Old love does not rust,' and took leave of me very tenderly. Who can tell what he may have taken with him from our atmosphere, which is so totally different from that which seems to be his own element!" (A. S. to E. W.) The Diary records that Professor Pfleiderer was taken to a concert by the Philadelphia orchestra, the first one conducted by Pohlig; he inspected the Krauth Library which was approaching completion, and saw the Mary J. Drexel Home. Professor Pfleiderer died on the eighteenth of July, 1908.

THE INDIA MISSION

December 24, 1907. "One thing attracted my attention in the report of the General Council in Buffalo, which I find hard to understand, though there is probably some other explanation of it. That is, the decision

*Gospel for the Twenty-first S. after Trinity. Except ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe.

to send a committee of two men to the mission field in India, to make a thorough inspection of conditions there, etc. Professor A. Spaeth is named as the second inspector. That must be a son of yours—for while the problem that is there to be solved needs no little experience and authority, the journey, not in the German home but to India, seems to me notwithstanding, far beyond what an old gentleman can take upon himself, though he be ever so robust." (E. W. to A. S.)

January 6, 1908. "Yes, my dear friend, the inspector for India whose name you saw mentioned is none other than myself! For fourteen or fifteen years (1876-1891) I was President of our Board of Foreign Missions, and therefore well acquainted with conditions there. Besides this came the consideration that my judgment would have had more weight with the different parties in our General Council, Germans, Swedes and Americans, than that of younger men. I would have liked to go, but the work in the Seminary and in my pulpit seemed absolutely to exclude all thought of it. So I declined. Then the President of the General Council sent a specially urgent letter to me, begging that I would at least accept the appointment for next fall, as no one wanted anyone else in my place. I reminded him that if I should undertake this journey in the coming fall I should already have entered on my seventieth year! Now the whole matter is finally at rest." (A. S. to E. W.)

THE KRAUTH MEMORIAL LIBRARY

At the meeting of Synod in 1883 Dr. Spaeth had the pleasure of announcing that Dr. Krauth's family had presented his library to the Seminary, on condition that as soon as possible a fire-proof building should be erected for it. The library was valued at $30,000 and

was not only rich in every department of theology, but contained one of the finest collections of old Bibles in the country. For nearly twenty-five years the Seminary Board regularly reported the condition of these valuable books, and the crying need for a building. At first they were placed in storage, whence they were removed within twenty-four hours of the destruction of the building by fire; later they were "stored in a garret" where they were "a prey to heat and dust" and "going to pieces," but nothing was done.

At last, in 1906, the report of the Board included that of the Dean of the Faculty in which Dr. Jacobs said: "The most important event in the history of the Seminary during the past year has been the response made to the urgent appeal printed in the last report of the Board to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, for a library building. On January 8th we had the extraordinary privilege of offering to this Board, on behalf of a devout member of the Lutheran Church who insists that his name be withheld,* the sum of $50,000 for the erection of a Krauth Memorial Library Building; and on January 25th, had the gratification of putting a cheque for that amount into the hands of our Treasurer." . . . . In regard to plans, the "donor named Rev. L. D. Reed, in addition to Dr. A. Spaeth and the Dean, as his representatives in projecting the kind of building suitable as a memorial of the late Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, and adapted to the purpose of a library which would properly represent the Lutheran Church among the scholars and investigators in America." In May a second gift of $50,000

*Among ourselves this gentleman was known as "G. D." On the 8th of January, 1907, when "Library Day" was celebrated for the first and last time, Dr. Spaeth alluded to G. D., causing a ripple of excitement and a pricking up of ears in the audience. With a quizzical smile he added, "Generous Donor!" and the identity of our great unknown was still safe.

was made by the same friend, for the completion and equipment of the library, including if possible, an organ for the auditorium, moving and cataloguing the books . . . . and other expenses incidental to putting the library into efficient operation. In 1907 Rev. Luther D. Reed was appointed Director of the Krauth Library.

Dr. Spaeth's Diary notes, December 28, 1905, "This evening call from Dr. Jacobs, who announced a Christmas gift of $10,000 for a Krauth Memorial Library, from an unnamed friend. Next! *Quod bonum felix faustumque sit!*" January 31, 1906. "For the Seminary the New Year brought us the gift of $50,000 for the Library. I have given offense to some of the Committee by my criticism of the plans presented by our architect,* but I hope now that everything will come right, even though I 'was in the minority' as one gentleman rather pointedly reminded me." February 16th. "To Easton with Dr. Jacobs, looking at libraries, Carnegie's City, and Lafayette." They also inspected the "splendid library" in Princeton, where they learned many things. March 27th. "Last week thorough discussion of the Library plans with Dr. Jacobs and Mr. Watson. The latter was evidently much impressed by my sketch of the main features, and promised to work out a plan on this line." September 17th. "With the library building things have so developed that I see the fulfilment of all my wishes. Our architect, Mr. Watson, and Mr. Reed have understood me, and in the final plan submitted to the Board my dreams have be-

* These first plans were too conventional. Dr. Spaeth wanted something characteristically Lutheran. As finally built, the Library embodies the idea of "Ein feste Burg," and is also a "symbol in stone of the character of the great and honored man whose name it bears; power and strength combined with a noble refinement and elegance."

come realities. Now the splendid building is growing rapidly, and we expect to lay the corner-stone on the twenty-seventh."

From the day that ground was broken, the library became an absorbing object of interest to Dr. Spaeth. Just as he had watched the daily growth of St. Johannis forty years before, now, as an old man, he showed the same eager delight in the progress of the Krauth Memorial. There was scarcely a day that "papa vecchio" was not welcomed by the Italian masons, when he climbed to the very top stone of the building, with his firm, elastic step, and returned their greeting from his store of Italian phrases picked up in his youth. On the twenty-seventh of September, 1906, a rainy day, the corner-stone was laid by Dr. Krotel. "The morning sermon by Armand Miller was fine, a true testimony to the faith, out of the fulness of the Scripture. I was really proud of him as 'one of my boys.' Fortunately, for the actual laying of the corner-stone the rain stopped, and Dr. Krotel spoke with great warmth and freshness." (Diary.)

For Seminary Day, 1907, the ladies were able to use the commodious dining room under the Auditorium of the Library, and on June 3, 1908, the dedication of the completed building took place. "Early in the morning I wrote a letter of thanks to our 'G. D.', and presided at the chief ceremonies in the forenoon, introducing the speakers, Dr. Thompson and Dr. Jacobs, and directing the procession from the tent to the main door. It was a red-letter day for our Seminary and the whole Lutheran Church." (Diary.) The *Lutheran* devoted several columns to this "greatest day in the history of the Seminary," giving most of Dr. Thompson's able address. His theme was "A Scholar among his Books," and the address was a "thoughtful and glowing tribute to his distinguished colleague at the

University of Pennsylvania, portraying the character and worth of Dr. Krauth in a manner that made him seem doubly great and precious to us Lutherans. Dr. Jacobs' address on the Aim and Scope of the Library was a masterly analysis of what constitutes a theological library, and a clear setting forth of its purpose and the uses to which it is to be put." This address was published later in permanent form. "To Dr. Jacobs the Library is a fulfilment of the desires, an answer to the prayers of many years, and the most fitting crown to his silver jubilee as Dr. Krauth's successor in the Faculty, which we celebrate this year." (*Kirchenbote.*) After the ceremonies in the great tent the whole company marched to the main portal of the Library, where the key was handed by Mr. Watson to Dr. Horn, Chairman of the Building Committee. He gave it in turn to Pastor Reed who, as the representative of the donor, delivered the building to Dr. Horine, President of the Board of Directors. In the afternoon words of greeting were spoken by prominent men from the various Lutheran Seminaries and Colleges, and by the Provost of the University. The magnificent building was illuminated in the evening.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE IN ROCHESTER

When Dr. Spaeth closed his Erinnerungen with a full account of the relations between the General Council and the Seminary in Kropp, he did so in anticipation of an important conference of German pastors which was soon to be held. At the General Council in Buffalo, 1907, the motion was made by Dr. Spaeth: Whereas it appears from the Report of the German Home Mission Board that the German Home Mission and Educational work of the General Council is greatly embarrassed and in danger of being completely crippled

by the lack of suitable men and the peculiar difficulties in the way of the proper training for the work in this country, therefore be it *Resolved,* That the General Council recommend that the German brethren connected with our Synods hold one or more Conferences for a thorough consideration of the whole problem, and that, as a result of these conventions, they propose to this Body some definite plan of action which may remove the difficulties. A second resolution provided that the President of the Council should appoint a committee which should have authority to call such Conference or Conferences, and report their action to the next convention of the General Council. These resolutions were adopted and the Committee was appointed, with Dr. Spaeth as Chairman.

In 1909 at Minneapolis, this Committee reported having met and devised a plan for presenting and discussing the questions vital to the German interests of the General Council. An invitation had then been issued to all German pastors connected with the General Council to attend a General Conference in Rochester, N. Y. At this Committee meeting in March subjects for discussion were chosen. 1. How to increase the supply of German pastors. 2. The consolidation of the German church-papers now published in the General Council, and the founding of a German organ. As the best solution of the first question it was proposed to resume official relations with Kropp. Resolutions were adopted to be submitted to the Conference, and Dr. Spaeth was requested to open the discussion with a historical introduction.

The First Free Conference of German Pastors of the General Council was held in Rochester, September 9th and 10th, 1908. It was a great success in attendance and in unanimity of action. In all the votes taken there was no dissenting voice. Dr. Spaeth opened the Con-

ference with a sermon on I Cor. 1: 10. "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment." This text had been chosen nearly forty-two years before by Professor Loy for his opening sermon at the Convention in Reading, a convention marked by absolute unanimity in doctrine and in purpose. It needed neither explanation nor justification if the German brethren of the General Council were urged once more to stand firmly on the ground here laid down, and to draw from these words the same oneness of spirit that had animated our fathers then, and inspired them to found the General Council.

"The position of the German Lutherans is peculiar and difficult. They do not form a compact unit like the Swedes . . . . nor does it seem possible to give to their problems the shape which the English mission work has recently taken, through its centralization plan. The Germans are divided into small groups, with no common organization or representation. In several of our Synods the language used is German, but a German element equally strong is found in Synods using mixed languages. The situation is further complicated by the fact that our German pastors have not had the same training and culture from their youth up. We have some pastors who were born and educated here, others born and educated abroad; North Germans and South Germans, Pennsylvanians, Canadians, and New Yorkers, Eastern and Western men. The natural result is that to this day our German element in the General Council has never taken the position or exerted the influence to which it is entitled. This was not because of any intention on the part of English or Swedish brethren to slight the Germans, to rob them

of their inherent rights, to give to their necessities only a grudging recognition or none at all,—but, above all, because the German element never showed a close front; because in critical moments it never knew clearly what it should and would do.

"Now the General Council in its last convention has taken up, in the most friendly spirit, the needs and claims of the German portion of our Church. We Germans are to have the opportunity of coming together, to formulate our wishes and requirements, and then to appear before the General Council with clearly defined resolutions. To this end this Conference is called."

In the subsequent discussion most of the speakers urged unity of aim and action, with many references to the impression made by this opening sermon. The third session on Thursday forenoon was devoted to Kropp. Dr. Spaeth read an exhaustive paper treating of the historical relations of the General Council to Pastor Paulsen's institution. When he came to the critical period of 1886 to 1888, when the existing relations with Kropp were severed, he was very clear and full in his statements, and Pastor Beer who at that time had been Director at Kropp, confessed that the statement was not only just, but threw light on points which he had not so clearly understood before. After the Conference adjourned Pastor Beer came to Dr. Spaeth, pressed his hand in deep emotion and said: "You deserved a special vote of thanks from this Conference!" A permanent Kropp Commission was constituted in 1909 on which Dr. Spaeth represented the Seminary. The Report of this Commission in 1911 says: "Dr. Spaeth never missed a meeting of the Commission except one held ten days before his death. He worked in harmony with the members of the Commission and consented to all its resolutions." Dr. Schmauk, who was President of the General Council and greatly in-

terested in the Conference, called attention in his Report for 1909 to the element of hopefulness and the spirit of unity which have entered into the German work of the General Council. For the first time in a generation our Germans are thoroughly united in sentiment, purpose and plan, and in harmony with the work in the English and Scandinavian parts of the Council. This is largely the result of the German Conference held last fall in Rochester, and opened with a sermon by Dr. Spaeth on I Cor. 1: 10. In November Dr. Spaeth wrote: "I had scarcely landed in America (September 2d) when I was obliged to attend the convention of the General Council in Minneapolis, which meant forty-eight hours uninterrupted railroad travel each way. The convention was of the greatest importance for the German portion of our Church, inasmuch as it proposed its complete reconstruction, and carried it through without opposition. Now my Germans must show whether they can really stand together, or whether Bismarck's saying that any two Germans will have three different opinions is to govern the church-life of the Germans in this country. Last year, in an important conference in Rochester, N. Y., I tried to pave the way for a firmer union." (A. S. to E. W.)

COMPLETION OF THE KRAUTH BIOGRAPHY

March 12, 1909. "Finished the second volume of the Krauth Biography. In the last few weeks I have been working on it with renewed enthusiasm, making important alterations and additions. For example I have introduced a whole new chapter, 'The National Crisis.' The publisher gives us hope that before we leave America on June 2d, it will all be set up. Harriett is busy with an Index which is to include both volumes, and to go a good deal into detail. I have given her as

model the Index of Morley's Gladstone, which she admires very much. It covers about fifty pages." (Diary.) November 13, 1909. "My second volume of the Krauth Biography of which I published the first volume eleven years ago, is now going through the press. . . . I am so glad and thankful that I have been permitted to complete this work which, for the English Lutheran Church of the future in America, is so important and so necessary. God grant that it may fulfil its mission!" (A. S. to E. W.) January 1, 1910. "At the end of the year the second volume of the Biography was just finished and given to the public. The editor of the *Lutheran* gave it a friendly, even an enthusiastic welcome. Otherwise, so far, everyone is singularly quiet about it." (Diary.)

The *Lutheran* of June 30, 1910, says: "One of the triumphs of his life was the production of the Biography of that remarkable man, the late Dr. Krauth in two large volumes. It is a history of important times in the American Lutheran Church, told in the words of Dr. Krauth and in the logical and forceful manner of Dr. Spaeth. Thus these two mighty men of faith are reflected in a work which throbs with the beauty and the strength of these giants of the Church."

THE CLOSING YEAR

Shortly before the time appointed for his going abroad, Dr. Spaeth was alarmed by new and more serious symptoms in the disease for which he had been receiving treatment for some months. His physician sent him to the distinguished surgeon, Dr. Deaver, for a decisive examination. This was delayed for a week,—an anxious week in which the under-current of gloomy anticipation mingled with the work that went on apparently as usual. On the intervening Sunday,

Cantate, he preached "with full strength," and conducted his Sunday School anniversary in the evening. He gave his three hours in the Seminary "only to get my thoughts on something else."

Dr. Deaver's diagnosis was unexpectedly favorable, closing with the advice: "You go to Europe!" "But now! 'Bless the Lord O my soul, and forget not all His benefits.' 'I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul.' 'Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.' O how different the familiar Word of God seems, when we face the realities of suffering and death and eternity!" The quiet, pleasant life on the ship did him good, but the old delight in travel was gone. He took but a languid interest even in the Swabian home he so passionately loved, and to his dear ones there, the "black figure" of which his mother once wrote, the "black figure of a certain final parting for this life" stood only too plainly behind him. Dr. Schott writes of his visit to Blaubeuren: "In 1909, at the re-union of his promotion in Blaubeuren Dr. Spaeth expressed his pleasure in seeing his classmates once more, and, in a speech which came from his heart, took leave of his old comrades whom he was not to meet again."

On the tenth of April, 1909, Dr. Spaeth celebrated the centennial of his father's birth. "Harriett had prepared a lovely surprise for me. She had sent timely notice to all the children, and from each one of them came a letter or telegram of congratulation. A fine birthday table with verses and presents for me, was further decorated with pictures of father and mother, and all their children and children's children." (Diary.)

In October Dr. Spaeth's family again held high festival on his seventieth birthday, the various celebrations lasting from the twenty-eighth, when the St. Johannis choir gave him their annual "surprise party,"

to the thirty-first, including the Reformation Festival for which most of his children were in St. Johannis, and the anniversary of the Frauenverein, who presented him with a handsome purse. "In the celebration of my seventieth birthday not only the narrower circle of my own family took part, but also the congregation, the Seminary, the Church here and, as I discovered this week to my great surprise, the Swabian press, in the *Merkur* and Esslingen papers. Even the *Gazette du Roi* by resolution of the Koenigsgesellschaft, noticed the occasion!" (A. S. to E. W.) The *Schwaebische Merkur* says, among other things: "A faithful son of his Swabian home will celebrate his seventieth birthday in Philadelphia, on the twenty-ninth of October. . . . In 1864, under rather unusual circumstances, Dr. Adolph Spaeth was led to the New World. The youth whose inclination was to the ideal, with his rich imagination and noble disdain of the sordid cares of life, struck firm root in that land absorbed in business, and has proved that even there under the protection of free institutions, intellectual, moral and religious aims can be successfully pursued. . . . . As a distinguished preacher, as Professor, and as President of the General Council he has ably served the Lutheran Church in North America. Through his brilliant oratory his fame has spread far beyond the bounds of his ecclesiastical connection. . . . . By frequent visits he has kept up a close relation with his family and friends in the old home. His fellow citizens in Esslingen recall with pleasure his frequent sermons in the churches of his native town, so finished in form, so full in substance, which always testified how cordially and sympathetically he remained in touch with the Fatherland."

For the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Motherhouse, September 29, 1909, Rector Cordes had come over with Mrs. Cordes from Hamburg, in order to preach the

festival sermon. His text was Ps. 106: 1. "O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endureth forever." It was a grand sermon, of gratitude for what God has wrought in the past, of hope for what He will yet do for the Church through the great work of the Diaconate. At the service in the afternoon many representatives of other church interests brought congratulation and greeting. Mr. Cordes spoke again, recalling his connection with the Deaconess House. He spoke of the false ambition of many women in our days, and emphasized "Not women's rights but right women," as the crying need of the hour. The closing address in the afternoon, "a masterly summing up of the principal sentiments of the occasion, leading to new inspiration and new consecration . . . . was made by Dr. Spaeth, whose whole-souled eloquence was the fitting climax of our Jubilee." (Annual.)

HANS ALBRECHT'S RECORD

In returning to America in 1909 Dr. Spaeth had met Mr. Jacob Rommel on the steamer, and reminded him of a promise made many years before, that a certain old book, possibly a Bible, which had come into his possession through the Bremer family should be presented to the Seminary. Dr. Spaeth had never seen this book, but after Mr. Rommel sent it out to Mt. Airy he discovered that it was not a Bible, but a copy of Luther's "Auslegung der Episteln und Evangelien von Ostern bis Advent." * "On examining the large folio volume, which is in its original binding and very well preserved, I was surprised and delighted to find on the

* The full account of this discovery with photographic reproduction of Hans Albrecht's writing is given in the *Lutheran Church Review* for April, 1910. This was Dr. Spaeth's last article for the *Review*.

fly leaf at the end of the book, and partly on the back cover, a full account of the death of Martin Luther, written in a clear and legible hand and somewhat ornamental chirography, together with a brief report of the funeral service held in Eisleben, on February 19, 1546, and the sermon preached by Dr. Jonas." The English translation of this account is as follows. "Anno 1546, February the seventeenth, on Wednesday after Valentine's day, toward evening, after supper, about eight o'clock, Dr. Martinus Luther became sick (weak) and complained of pains in his chest. But after he had been rubbed with warm towels and had taken two spoons full of wine, with shavings of Einhorn in it, of which Curdi von Wolf Ramsdorf had first tasted a spoon full, before the Doctor, he slept in the (sitting) room, on the lounge for an hour and a half. When the clock struck ten he was put to bed and slept until one o'clock. Then he wakened his servant (famulus) Ambrosius Rutfelt of Oelitz and told him to make fire in the room. But as the room was already warm, he rose from the bed and said: 'Doctor Jonas, I am very weak; I fear I shall never leave Eisleben.' He then walked up and down in the room once or twice. After this he lay down on the lounge and complained of great oppression on the chest, though, thus far, the heart was not affected. When he was rubbed with towels and his pillows and covers were warmed he said, it was a relief to be kept warm, but that he was in a great sweat. The bystanders, Michael Coelius, Doctor Jonas, Johannes Aurifaber and his servant comforted him, saying, that was a good sign. But the Doctor said, this is a cold death-sweat, I am going to give up the ghost, for I am getting worse. Thereupon both physicians were hurriedly summoned. But when we had meanwhile rubbed him with Aqua Vitae, lavender water, aromatic vinegar and other stimulants, which our

gracious Count Albrecht and his wife had brought, he began to speak thus: 'I thank Thee, Lord God, heavenly Father, that Thou hast revealed unto me Thy dear Son, in whom I believed, whom I confessed and preached, whom I loved and lauded, but whom the godless dishonour, blaspheme and revile. I pray Thee, Lord Jesus Christ, let my soul be commended to Thee. O heavenly Father, I know, though I must give up this body, that I shall live forever with Thee. Et dixit, Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam, Deus, qui salvos facis sperantes in Te et reducis ex morte. I am ready to depart.' Then he said three times, 'Pater, in manus tuas commendo tibi spiritum meum.' After this he was silent. When they shook him and called to him, he did not answer. They then applied Aqua Vitae to his nostrils and called him loudly by name. Doctor Jonas and Michael (Coelius) asked him: 'Doctor Martine, Reverende pater, are you now ready to die in the faith of Christ and the doctrine which you preached in His name?' Thereupon he said, so that it could be heard distinctly, 'Yes.' Then he turned on his right side, and slept for some minutes (eine gute halbe viertel Stunde), so that we hoped he was getting better. Then came the death-rattle, a deep drawn breath, and he was gone. Thus he departed peacefully and patiently in the Lord between two and three o'clock A. M. God be merciful unto us all and help us. Amen.

"D. M. L.
"We cannot do what every one wills
But we can do what we will.

"These words were written on the wall by Doctor Martinus Luther thirteen days before his death.

"On Friday, February 19th, 2 P. M., Doctor Martinus

Luther was taken to St. Andrew's Church, in Eisleben. The coffin was placed in the chancel. There were present Prince Wolf von Anhalt, Count Heinrich von Schwarzburg, his son Sychardt, Count Gebhardt, Albrecht, Philips, Vulradt, Jorge, Hans and other young gentlemen also the ladies of Count Gebhardt and Albrecht. Doctor Jonas preached a beautiful sermon showing what Doctor Martinus had been, how and what he wrote, and how at last he departed in peace. In his third part he explained and applied the words of Paul. There were more than 4,000 people present at this sermon. May God grant unto us also to depart in peace. Amen."

"A close examination of this account convinced me that it must have been written not only by a cotemporary, but, evidently, by an eye-witness. Being anxious to ascertain, if possible, the personality of the writer, but not sufficiently acquainted with the autographs of men that might have to be considered in this connection, I secured a photographic reproduction of the whole record. This I sent to Dr. W. Walther of Rostock, a well known specialist on Luther and his writings, requesting him to examine the matter thoroughly and to give me his opinion concerning the probable writer and the value of the whole record.

"Dr. Walther at once took a lively interest in the matter and proved himself a most helpful and generous assistant in clearing up the mystery. He wrote: 'This record is of the highest interest. Its *contents* confirm throughout the other accounts of Luther's death, which were known thus far. But its *form* shows that these statements are not based on any of the other accounts known to us, but are entirely original and independent. Its importance is increased by the fact that this record was evidently not intended for publication or for any outsider, but is simply an entry in a postil, a book writ-

ten by Luther himself, and printed two years before. . . . That the writer was an eye-witness must be inferred from his statements concerning the funeral service, as he gives . . . . . the contents of the sermon of Justus Jonas in a form which can only be explained from hearing that discourse and not from reading it after it was printed.' "

Dr. Walther also deduces from internal evidence that the writer was present at the death of Luther, that he was a subject of the Count of Mansfeld, that he was not a scholar but a professional clerk. Among all those who were present the only one who could have written this record was the town clerk of Eisleben, Hans Albrecht. This deduction was confirmed by the opinion of other experts consulted by him.

"Dr. Walther has since published an article on our discovery in the *Allgemeine Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* which contains a somewhat fuller statement of the points made in his letter, and dwells particularly on the importance of this document over against the malicious slanders spread by Romanists with reference to Luther's death. He says: 'This discovery would have been of still greater importance if it had occurred twenty years ago . . . .' It overthrows the very foundation of the claim (made in 1889) that the official report on Luther's death was not a statement of simple historical facts, but an artfully constructed document, prepared for the purpose of hushing up and contradicting certain unpleasant rumors that had been in circulation concerning the death of the great reformer. We know that even before the 'Historia' was written, Justus Jonas, only about an hour after Luther's death, had sent to the Elector a full account of the last days and the dying hours of Luther, which he dictated to the Secretary of Count Albrecht, adding in an autograph

postscript that 'none of them had been able in their great sorrow, to write in his own hand.'

"But even though this letter and the official 'Historia' afterwards prepared by Jonas, Coelius and Aurifaber should have been influenced by a natural desire to represent the dying scene in the most favorable and edifying form for the public eye, no such design can possibly be charged to this account of the town clerk of Eisleben. It was written under the first, vivid impression of the solemn scenes at Luther's death bed which the writer had been privileged to witness. It was written for no other eyes except his own, or possibly the members of his family. It is from beginning to end characterized by a striking simplicity, even naiveté. There is no careful choosing of words, no posing whatsoever. The man who had been present at the last hours of that illustrious servant of God and who had listened to his last words of prayer and confession, felt himself irresistibly compelled to fix the memorable scene on paper. So he sat down and entered into a book of Luther's own sermons, this simple-hearted, artless account of the hero's death, which will henceforth stand as an original and unassailable record."

This discovery, with the correspondence and writing of articles which it involved, did much to help Dr. Spaeth over the increasing depression and physical discomfort of the last six months of his life. To lay his hand on a written page, on which another hand had rested so soon after it had ministered to Martin Luther in his extremity—brought him into closer personal contact with his great Chief than any experience he had ever had, even his visit to the Wartburg.

During the winter of 1909-1910 he enjoyed most of the concerts of the Philadelphia orchestra for which he had a season ticket. His many engagements in the city were kept only by great expenditure of time and

strength, owing to frequent heavy snows and drenching rains. In February the situation was further complicated by serious rioting due to a strike among the employees of the trolley lines, forcing him to walk wherever he could not take a train. But he attended the extra session of Synod in January, coming home "worn out;" met with Conference and Committees, and with the Board of the Deaconess House as usual; preached every Sunday except one, and always with the running comment in the Line a Day, "quite exhausted," "very wretched," "weak and discouraged." On the twelfth of February he delivered his lecture on Bismarck and Lincoln for the German Society. In spite of heavy, wet snow there was a large and attentive audience. After the lecture an informal supper was served in the basement, and though he was greatly fatigued, he found it "very gemuethlich," and held out well.

As the spring opened Dr. Spaeth seemed much more like himself. He had returned to regular treatment after a few weeks in which he declined taking either medical advice or the remedies already prescribed, and agreed at once to his physician's suggestion that he should submit to a slight operation, not dangerous, and which had shown a very high percentage of cures in cases similar to his. The meeting of the Seminary Board and Commencement were over. He waited for the meeting of Synod, and for the Ordination sermon which he had promised to preach. Then, having finished his work, he went for three weeks to a private hospital for the new treatment.

He seemed almost entirely free from anxiety about his own condition, was cheerful with his many visitors, and only rather homesick for Mt. Airy when June came, and he was still a prisoner between brick walls. He was disappointed that he could not welcome Bishop von Scheele who was coming to attend the Jubilee in

Rock Island, and who was to have been his guest. Dr. Jacobs said, afterwards: "In his weakness, while at the hospital last June, his mind was occupied with the Jubilee celebration of the Swedish Augustana Synod, and he commissioned me to carry to Rock Island the message that his absence on that occasion was one of the greatest disappointments of his life. The last words that I remember having heard from his lips as he bade me good-bye, were *'For the sake of the Church,'*—the key-note of his life." He had also been appointed delegate from the General Council to the Iowa Synod, and had made all his preparations for this trip. "The message which he was to carry was to him holy and weighty, and burned in his heart. Then, at the last minute, he broke down. He wrote with trembling hand a greeting to the dear Iowa brethren, and I was present as his alternate, when, on the day he died, this message was read to the Synod." (G. C. B.)

On the fifteenth of June he was allowed to come home. After resting a little while on the porch, and feasting his eyes on his favorite European linden which was just coming into bloom, he sat down at the piano and played "Nun danket alle Gott." After this he played every day, "Brich herein Suesser Schein, Selger Ewigkeit." For a few happy days he renewed in some measure, his usual vacation routine, spending much of his time on the upper porch where he could lie on the couch and watch the birds splashing in their shallow bathing dishes. He intended to preach on the twenty-sixth of June, and when the weather became so oppressive that he was convinced that this would be imprudent, he still clung to his intention to be present at the service on that Sunday. To one of his sons he wrote, June 21st, "Here I am, happy to be at home again. Last Wednesday Mrs. B. brought me out from the hospital in the automobile,—a lovely trip through

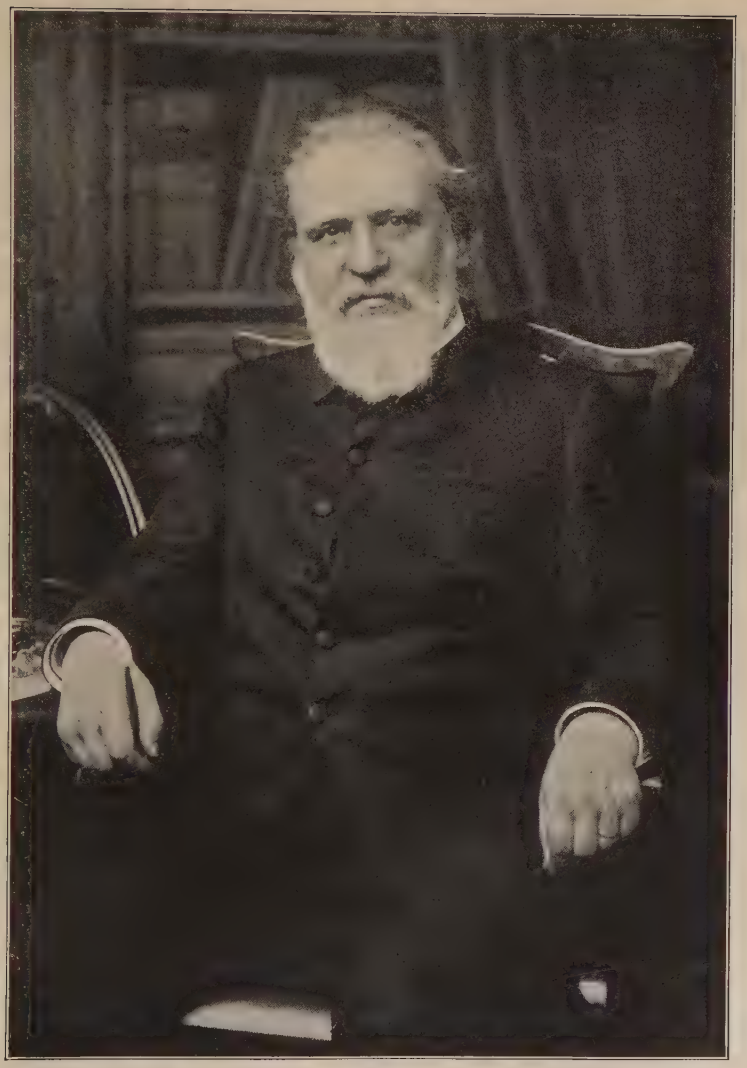
the park. O how thankful I was for sunshine and forest green, for song of birds and fragrance of flowers, after the world had been for three long weeks, literally boarded up from me. . . . I hope to venture into my pulpit again on Sunday. In any case I should like to go in to church." Once he went into the city to see his physician, and came home jubilant, with permission to go to the shore whenever he chose.

On Saturday morning, June 25th, he rose as usual, and after breakfast spent an hour in the garden with his wife and eldest son. He was interested in their conversation but took little part in it, and presently went into the house to lie down. His son, who was obliged to take the next train to Princeton, left him apparently comfortable, but in less than an hour he was in such pain that the family physician, Dr. Carmichael, was hastily summoned. He scarcely left the house all day, but not having treated Dr. Spaeth himself, telephoned to the hospital for information and suggestion, and in the afternoon the resident physician there relieved him for a few hours. About six o'clock Dr. Thomas was called in consultation. Taking Dr. Spaeth's hand he said: "Do you know me Doctor?" and the answer came in a full, natural voice, and with a humorous smile: "Why, yes; it is Dr. Thomas. All the medical faculty of Mt. Airy has come to me!" These were his last words, except a half conscious exclamation, "Ach Gott!" For another hour he lay quiet, but took the medicine which Mrs. Spaeth gave him at regular intervals. Then he lifted himself with a startled look, placed both hands on her shoulders, stood upright for a moment,—sank back, and was gone.

THE FUNERAL SERVICES

Dr. Spaeth's funeral took place on Thursday, June 30th. It was the wish of his family, in accordance with what was always his own preference and judgment, that only the liturgy of the Kirchenbuch should be used. For three hours the body lay in state in St. Johannis, attended by a guard of honor appointed from the Church Council, after which the coffin was closed. The service was conducted by Pastor Bielinski, and Professors Fry and Spieker. The choir sang *Ecce quomodo moritur justus,* and the Deaconesses, "Brich herein Suesser Schein." Two hymns were appointed for the congregation: "Was Gott thut das ist wohlgethan," and "Jerusalem du hochgebaute Stadt," one of Dr. Spaeth's favorite chorales. A great number of pastors were present, and the Directors of the Deaconess House as well as those of the Seminary appeared in a body. The simplicity and dignity of the whole service made a deep impression.

Dr. Spaeth was greatly beloved in the congregation which he had served for more than forty years. The funeral service which in its form was largely his work, sung by those who had learned it under his direction, was "solemn witness to the manner in which he had stamped his culture, his spirituality and the rich evangelical character of his ministry on the congregation which he had created, and nurtured through all these years. 'He being dead yet speaketh,' and his influence and work will abide." (*Lutheran.*)



A. Spaeth

c. 1906.

The Memorial Service

On All Saints' Day, November 1st, the Memorial service announced at the time of Dr. Spaeth's funeral, took place. Pastor Bielinski conducted the Vespers and Pastor Steimle read the Lessons. During the meeting of Synod Pastor Steimle had been invited by Dr. Spaeth to preach for him on Trinity Sunday,—the last Sunday on which he attended service, sitting in his own pew which he almost never did. On Whitsunday he had preached for the last time in St. Johannis. His theme was, the Signs of Pentecost in the Heart. 1. A joy in God's Word. 2. Love to Jesus. 3. That peace which passeth understanding.

"The Memorial Service was not intended to be a purely congregational affair, nor as the affair of the Theological Seminary with whose work and mission he was so closely identified for many years. Quite naturally it had more of a personal than an ecclesiastical character. St. Johannis Church was filled with a wide circle of Dr. Spaeth's friends and admirers in and around the city of Philadelphia, where he was so well known and so much beloved, and from beyond. The chancel was simply decorated with plants and flowers, and the pulpit which bore to thousands the message of the Gospel in its truth and purity, if ever it was proclaimed in America, was not occupied during the service. Through that mute pulpit, as well as through the hymns that bore the impress of his master-mind, Dr. Spaeth spoke with an eloquence and power that evening which those who were present alone could feel." (*Lutheran.*)

The Liturgy for the Vesper Service was used in German throughout. The hymns for the congregation were sung either in German or English. After an organ prelude the choir sang Dr. Spaeth's translation of Crossing the Bar.

Die Sonne sinkt, es glaenzt der Abendstern,
Hell ruft mich's von der Hoeh'!
Fein stille haett ich's an der Brandung gern,
Wenn ich nun geh' zur See;
Nicht Schaum und Brausen: eine Fluth, glattvoll,
Die wie im Schlaf hinfaehrt,
Wenn das, was auf aus tiefster Tiefe quoll,
Heim wieder kehrt.

Zwielicht und Abendglockenschlag,
Dann Dunkel rings umher!
Nur keinen Abschied mir mit Leid und Klag
Zur Fahrt auf's Meer!
Traegt auch die Fluth aus dieser Enge hier
In weite Fern' mich hin:
Dort schaut mein Lootse Aug in Auge mir,
Wenn ich hinueber bin.

This was immediately followed by "Abide with Me," sung by the congregation. The Twenty-third Psalm was used, with the Antiphone, Befiel dem Herrn deine Wege und hoffe auf Ihn. The Lessons were Hebrews 11: 1-6; 8-10; 13-16, and Revelations 2: 1-3. 3: 7, 8, 10-13, followed by the Responsory, Herr, Dein Wort bleibt ewiglich.

The first English address was by Dr. Jacobs, on Dr. Spaeth the Lutheran and Leader in the Church. The hymn "Rock of Ages" followed. After Dr. Berkemeier's German address on Dr. Spaeth the German, and The Deaconess Cause, the choir sang Loehe's Hymn, "O Gottes Sohn," to the melody composed by Dr. Spaeth. The second English address was by Judge Staake on Dr. Spaeth the American Citizen. After this the choir gave two verses of "Jerusalem du hochgebaute Stadt" in a very beautiful figurated setting, and the congregation sang the two closing verses in unison. The Vesper Service concluded with three Collects. 1. For Apostles' Days, the second in the Kirchenbuch. 2. For Cantate. 3. For Peace.

FROM DR. JACOBS' ADDRESS

No one who knew Dr. Spaeth intimately could be impressed otherwise than by the fact that, whatever other graces of character he possessed, his religious life was the very centre of all his thought and activity. It was not a side-matter, supplementing other attainments, or one department, out of many parallel fields that were cultivated. It was dominant and all pervasive. It fixed his standards; it colored all his views; it enriched all his natural gifts; it was the spring of his many-sided culture. . . . . That religious life had also a centre, and that was his clear apprehension of the revelation which God has made in Christ, and the complete surrender of his will to the contents of that revelation, especially as it in turn centres around the Person and Work of his Redeemer. It was the great characteristic of his preaching that his sermons were all variations of one great theme, and that theme was Christ—an exhaustless theme, treated with invariable freshness both with his voice and with his pen. . . . His charm as a public speaker lay in his simplicity and naturalness. Eloquence with him was not the result of art or labored effort. His style had been formed on classical models, enriched by wide reading of the very best literature, and rendered flexible and responsive to all demands by his familiarity with other languages. . . . . His audience he read like a book, and knew where and when to touch it. The sympathy of his hearers awakened his own, and they reacted on each other. On some great occasion his words swept through his audience like a storm through the forest, bending everything before its onset. Nevertheless, this was a power that was mostly held in restraint. He relied for the effect of his preaching not upon the eloquence of the preacher, but upon the presence of the Holy Spirit,

carrying conviction by the simple presentation of the truth; and yet, with the truth in his mind and heart, his deep conviction, his transparent sincerity and his warm sympathies made his eloquence his habitual mode of speech. . . . . Next to his Bible and his Kirchenbuch, he lived in the writings of the great Saxon Reformer. He was familiar with the chief treatises of Luther, and, above and almost to the exclusion of other preachers, found in Luther's sermons the best studies for those preparing for the pulpit. . . . . Luther's life and death, Luther's words and deeds, Luther's hymns and prayers, Luther's conflicts and victories were ever in his heart and mind. Not in the ponderous tomes of the dogmaticians, not in the minute and acute distinctions of the schools, but in the intensely practical expositions of the Gospel by the great Wittenberg prophet, he found constant material for the support of the faith of his childhood, and for the guidance of those over whom he stood as teacher and leader. . . . .

Coming to America at a critical time for both State and Church he was able to render distinguished service almost from his first appearance on these shores. Men were ready to do and dare as they had never done before. He had come, not directly from Germany, but, after an important period of preparation in Scotland, with its opportunities for the study of a type of religious life different from that of the Lutheran Church, and for acquaintance with the English language as a medium of theological discussion. He had caught something of the enthusiasm and devotion and sublime courage, that had founded the Free Church, and prompted its heroic deeds, and which he himself designates as "one of the greatest ecclesiastical movements of the nineteenth century." . . . . Was it wonderful then, that he was at once ready to participate with all his heart and soul in the movement that had just

begun, to lay anew the foundations of his beloved Church in America, or that, stimulated by the new atmosphere which he breathed, and freed from the restraints that would have suppressed his progress in an older land, only a few years elapsed until he was recognized as a leader? To maintain in its purity that faith which was given by the Reformation, and to save to this pure faith and build up in this pure faith the scattered members of our Church, was a problem to which he devoted the main strength of his life. . . . If the Lutheran Church ever had a loyal son; if the Lutheran Church of America ever had a faithful servant; if the General Council ever had a zealous advocate, and an able expounder and defender of its principles, it was this beloved and revered teacher and pastor, this warm-hearted and cherished friend and adviser, whose testimony on earth ended on the anniversary of the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, and whose last official act, as Chairman of the Faculty of our Seminary, was to read the Collect for Peace, "that we being delivered from fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness." Into that peace he has entered. That rest for which he prayed, he has attained.

FROM DR. BERKEMEIER'S ADDRESS

> The teachers shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever. *Daniel* 12:3.

In part this promise was fulfilled even upon earth. The glory of heaven shone about him already here below, and impressed upon his whole nature that stamp of the ideal, which appealed to us in his every feature and word. Dr. Spaeth was a handsome man. He belonged to God's nobility, he was an aristocrat in the best sense. He held his head boldly like a lion. His high, full brow showed the profound thinker. His eyes

had a curious fashion of suddenly sparkling and blazing when he was roused. And at the same time there was an aesthetic quality in his character, which transformed and glorified his personality.

If we come nearer to this personality we find that Dr. Spaeth was German to the core. Especially by his thorough study of Luther, by his spiritual fellowship with this most German of all Germans he entered deeply into German ways and Germanic character, and was in turn permeated by them as few have been. And as the wine on the Rhine has a different aroma from that on the Neckar, so he never disclaimed the "gemuethlich" temperament of the Wuerttemberger; even its dialect betrayed itself in his speech. This was always remarkable to me, for in his outward life Dr. Spaeth was a cosmopolitan. He had left home as a young man; he had moved in the highest circles of Scotland; in this new world he had become practically an American; he had mastered the English language, as, probably, no other German had done, with the exception of Carl Schurz. And yet, with it all he remained absolutely German, and though it is true that he adapted himself to American circumstances, and American ways, yet still more did he impress his German character on his surroundings in the new world,—he was not made by environment, but he made environment. He was the ideal German American.

FROM JUDGE STAAKE'S ADDRESS

After giving a very clear definition of an American citizen, and after declaring how fully this definition applied to Dr. Spaeth, Judge Staake continued: His loyalty to his adopted country never was and never could be questioned; his intense and devoted interest in its continued well-being was always evident, and by

word and example, by intelligent labors in many fields, by his utterances from the pulpit and platform, by his instructions in the Church and Theological Seminary, he encouraged a love of God and of Country. . . . . I believe no German, save possibly the eminent Carl Schurz, exercised in his day a more wholesome and helpful influence among his German fellow citizens especially, than did Dr. Spaeth. . . . . He cared nothing for mere worldly rank or power, but cared everything for honest, honorable and consecrated service to God and man. . . . . He believed that the American people, under the providence of Almighty God, had indeed a goodly heritage of inestimable benefits, which should be preserved and be transmitted unimpaired, untarnished and undiminished as a blessing to future generations. Dr. Spaeth was indeed a great and good man, a loyal citizen, a devoted friend, a born leader of men; and although English was an acquired tongue for him, few men could surpass him in using it as the expression of a rich mind, a staunch character and a winning personality.

RESOLUTIONS AND PERSONAL TRIBUTES

The *Synod* of Pennsylvania, at a special meeting held February 14, 1911, *Resolved,* That we record with chastened hearts the removal to the Church triumphant, of our great leader, the Rev. A. Spaeth, D. D., LL.D., former President of this body and of the General Council, Professor in our Seminary and Chairman of its Faculty, whose voice was equally potent in the pulpit, the classroom, and Synodical assembly; whose labors in the departments of Liturgics, Church music and the Female Diaconate were epochal, and whose depth of learning, wide culture, wise counsel and large experience proved him the guiding spirit in many im-

portant Boards and Committees of the Church. Thoroughly familiar with the history and the aspirations of our Church on two continents, and welcomed in the councils of wise leadership on both, he was preëminently the living bond of the Church in America with the Church in Europe, a true representative of universal Lutheranism, who contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. The affections of a warm and generous nature followed his students throughout life, and the impress of his personality will long be felt in the whole Church, through the labors of those who were privileged to come under the sphere of his influence and example. Recognizing in humble gratitude what God has given to His Church through the life of Dr. Spaeth, we set ourselves to carry on the work of the kingdom in the spirit of our fallen leader.

In the *General Council.* Since the days of Dr. Krauth, Dr. Spaeth stood out as the great leader of Confessional Lutheranism in the General Council, the staunchest defender of her fundamental principles. The Church has lost a leader who loved and was loyal to his German blood, and to whom all sections of our German Church looked for guidance and sympathy. At the same time the English Church has lost a champion who realized that in that tongue lies the future of the Church in this country, for which he gave forty-seven years of earnest and efficient service as one of her eloquent ministers, learned professors and efficient leaders. (*Lutheran.*)

In the *Seminary* "he was not only Chairman of the Faculty, but the one to whom the other professors looked for safe counsel whenever difficult questions arose. He was the bond of union between the first and the present Faculty. He was so thoroughly informed on all subjects, and so accurate in his use of the English language as well as of his native German,

that he was fitted to act as a supply for any professor, in any branch of theological instruction, whenever occasion might arise for this service." (J. F.)

As *Preacher.* "That Dr. Spaeth was a highly endowed preacher of the Gospel no one will deny who heard him or knew him. Especially his brethren in the ministry can never forget those sermons which he used to preach at Conference or Synod. Here he gave his best, because as a steward of the mysteries of God he brought forth things new and old out of the rich treasure of his experience, and knew how to use his own gifts and his full assurance of faith to fire the hearts of his clerical brethren for their noble calling as ministers of the Word. . . . It is not easy to say where the secret of his mode of preaching lay. Dr. Spaeth was undoubtedly a born orator, with rich natural gifts at his command. But that alone does not explain the impression made by his sermons, on many hearers. Highly as we may value his natural gifts, he was not a popular preacher in the ordinary sense. It was an aesthetic delight to listen to him, but his words appealed more to cultivated hearers than to the common people. The chief excellence of his sermons was not in their form but in their contents, in the thoroughly evangelical character which they bore. They were always drawn from the depths of the Gospel, fervent witnesses to a living faith in the crucified and risen Christ. They centred in the wonderful works of God, which were done for our redemption, and on which our faith stands firm. . . . . The faith of Luther and of our Lutheran fathers satisfied him, and permeated his whole being. As to Luther so also to him the Scriptures were the Word of God, and as such the test of all doctrine, the living spring of all knowledge, the source of all spiritual life. And as for Luther so also for him, Christ who was crucified and rose again,

was the centre of the Scriptures, the glorious sun, from which all light and life proceed." (H. O.)

As *Theologian.* "In this age of specialists gone mad, he stood out in sublime contrast as the all-round, well-poised, broad and profound Theologian and man of culture. As a preacher, the Church will look far and wide to find another like him. He lived in the Gospel as his natural, native element, and had an evangelical intuition and insight that were as rare as they were remarkable. . . . . As a churchman he will be missed on the floor of Synod and Council as very few have ever been. That fine Teutonic face and figure behind which there dwelt a powerful personality, was in itself an inspiration and benediction and made one feel that the Church's doctrinal interests were in safe hands. . . . . There was much in Dr. Spaeth that reminds one of Martin Luther:—first, a passionate love for the Truth; second, an intense devotion to it wherever it might lead; third, a sublime disregard of what others might think or say when the Truth needed defense; fourth, a sincerity, frankness, and rugged candor that compelled admiration even where it hit hardest; fifth, a holy horror for expediency where principle was involved. Dr. Spaeth would have made a poor ecclesiastical politician, and to his lasting honor be it said." (*Lutheran.*)

"Of all the qualities in the personality of Dr. Spaeth, there were two which, more than others, fashioned and raised him to be the pillar of the Lutheran Church that he was for many years. The first of these qualities was sound knowledge and sober judgment as the basis of all his convictions; and the other was the elemental strength which these convictions gave to his faith, and the usually simple, but solid and hearty and frequently sublime defense of them, which he made in all times

of crisis and on all occasions when there was need of warfare.

"Dr. Spaeth was always right in his facts. He was always clear and simple in their presentation. The power to measure and weigh things and to rate them at their pure objective value, caused him to be ever firmly seated on a true foundation, and almost never to be tempted into an extreme—or into a secondary, still less into a temporizing—position in doctrine. . . . . It was this sure knowledge, wrought into every fibre of his mental experience, which caused him to make fewer mistakes, to have less need of modifying a position he took, within the doctrinal limits in which his mind moved as a master, than most of the theologians even of the sober Lutheran Church in America. . . . Thus, by nature, faith, attainment and position, he came gradually to be the personality who represented our Lutheran Church in its best estate to the Fatherland, and who stood for our most solid types in doctrine, cultus, pastoral practice and polity." (T. E. S., *Review*, July, 1910.)

DR. SPAETH'S PUBLICATIONS

In compiling and verifying this list the Editor has received valuable aid from Rev. E. P. H. Pfatteicher and others. The facilities of the Krauth Memorial Library were placed at her service for the necessary research, all of which favors are gratefully acknowledged.

1864. Translation of Dr. C. P. Krauth's Address at the Installation of the First Faculty of the Philadelphia Seminary. *Lutherische Zeitschrift,* December 10th.

1864-1879. Other articles in the *Lutherische Zeitschrift:* 1864. Antrittspredigt in Zion's (John 21: 15-17), Nov. 12.—1865. Wem bauen wir unsere Kirche?—1866. Die erste Weihnachtspredigt, Jan. 13.—Das Evangelium in Italien, Feb. 10.—Jamaica, Feb. 24.—Gethsemane, eine Betrachtung, largely based on Lange and Stier, Mar. 24.—Die Cholera u. die Mission, Apr. 21.—Die Suedsee Inseln, transl., May 5.—Deine eigene Lebensbeschreibung, Oct. 6.—Historische Erinnerungen aus Sachsen, Dec. 15.—Der oberflaechliche Unglaube, transl., Dec. 15.—1867. Die wahre Einigkeit u. die rechte Vereinigung. 3 articles translated from Prof. Loy, Jan. 19, 26, Feb. 2.—Ein Wort ueber Juenglingsvereine, Mar. 2.—Die Sonntagschule, 7 articles, Apr. 20, May 4, 18, June 22, 29, Aug. 17, 24.—Fragen ueber die Sonntags-Evangelien fuer die Sonntagschule, Pfingsten, May 25. These Questions were continued under the general heading: Der Sonntagschullehrer, until Sept. 12, 1868.—Dr. Mann's Empfang in Philadelphia, Oct. 5.—Der 31ste October in Philadelphia, Dec. 7, 14.—1868. Der Sonntagschullehrer, 4 articles; Wer soll es sein? Jan. 11, 18. Gebet eines Lehrers vor der Schule, Jan. 25. Wie soll man's werden? Feb. 29.—Bestrafung unartiger Kinder, Mar. 21.—Einweihung der deutsch. luth. St. Johannis Kirche in Philadelphia, June 6.—Eine Stimme aus Schottland ueber christliche Jugenderziehung, July 4.—Was uns die Voegel predigen, Kinderpredigt, Aug. 1.—Die Furcht des Herrn, K. predigt, Nov. 7.—Die Besprechung der Vier Punkte in der Allgem. Kirchenversammlung zu Pittsburgh, Dec. 12.—1869. New Series of Questions for the Sunday School: Die Geschichte der Erzvaeter, January to March.—Stimmrecht u. Abendmahlsbesuch (reply to 12 Theses

of Emil Riecke), Feb. 20.—Judenmission in der Schottischen Kirche, June 26.—Die presb. Kirche u. die Deutschen in Amerika, June 26.—Dr. Duff u. der Herzog von Somerset, July 3.—Die Ordnung bei gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen, July 10.—Allerlei Baueme, ein Familien-Gespraech unter dem Christbaum, Dec. 11.—1870. Drei Punkte ueber die Ordnung bei gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen, May 28.—Sieben Thesen ueber Zweck u. Einrichtung lutherischer Sonntagschulen. Read at the Free Conference in Allentown, May 17, 18. Printed again in 1875.—1871. Review of "Andachtsbuch fuer Sonntagschulen der Neuen Kirche" (Swedenborgian), Feb. 4. —Review of the "Order of Service for Ev. Luth. Congregations, or the Church Book Explained in Questions and Answers," by Rev. J. Fry, Mar. 25.—Eine neue amer. Patent-Maschine fuer Sonntag Schulen, Apr. 1.—Unsre schwedischen Glaubensgenossen in Chicago, Nov. 11.—1873. Andere "Gedanken ueber den Christbaum in den luth. Kirchen," signed *Pastor* A. S. (A reply to "Gedanken," etc., signed *Dr.* A. S.) Feb. 1.—1874. Deutsches Gesang-und Choral Buch (Schaff), Oct. 3.—1875. Das geistliche Volkslied, May 15.—Ein Sonntag in Brooklyn, July 17.—Answer to Questions about new Kirchenbuch, Sept. 18.—"Das Sonntagschulbuch" (Report of A. S. as Chairman of Committee), Dec. 18.—1876. Translation of Whittier's Centennial Hymn, May 27. Reprinted with music, July 8.—Von der Weltausstellung in Philadelphia, June 3.—Was ist in Bethlehem (Pa.) geschehen, Dec. 9.—1877. Ein Urtheil ueber das S. S. Buch, Mar. 3.—1879. Das Predigen in Kirchen von andersglaeubigen Benennungen, Nov. 15.

1865. Predigt: Abraham Lincoln, pp. 16. Reprinted 1909.

1865-1867. Predigten in Dr. Schaff's *Evangelische Zeugnisse.*

1866. Festgruss z. Zion's Jubilaeum, Dr. Mann and A. S. Pub. by C. W. Widmaier.

1867. Der Hausgottesdienst. Eine Abhandlung fuer die Erste District Conference, etc. Printed in Germantown Orphans' Home.

1868-1869. Edited *Sonntagschul Lehrer und Elternfreund.* (Brobst.)

1869-1873. Articles in Brobst's *Theol. Monatsheft.* 1869. Thesen ueber das Predigtamt, transl. from C. P. K., June.—1870. "Zur Quelle!" Address at Seminary Commencement, June.—Bemerkungen zum Probedruck des Gesangbuchs fuer Gemeinde ev. luth. Bekenntnisses, September.—1871. Die anglikanische Kirche, transl. from preface to the Conservative Reformation,

November.—1873. Antrittsrede bei Uebernahme des Professur am Th. Seminar in Philadelphia, September.

1869-1889. Contributed regularly to the *Jugendfreund*. Editor from 1877 to 1889. 1869. Kinderpredigten, (in book form 1871, Brosamen, etc.)—Miscellaneous articles, verses and music, rarely signed.—1878. Gespraech zur Passionzeit, April.—Adventsgespraech, November.—1879. Der kleine Philipp u. sein Engel, April.—Reisebrief, October.—1879-1880. Ein gueldenes A. B. C. Series of Kinderpredigten.—1880. Vom Meeresstrand, August.—Unterm Christbaum, Weihnachtsgespraech, December.—1882-1883. Von Lexington nach Yorktown, in kunstlosen Reimen; verses adapted from a Cantata that appeared after the Franco-Prussian War.—1883. Dr. Charles Porterfield Krauth, February.—Herr Niemand, verses, Feb.—Krankenwacht, verses, March.

1870. Die Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs fuer Sonntagschulen und Familien durch Fragen u. Antworten schriftmaessig erlaeutert. Philadelphia. Ig. Kohler.

1871. Appendix of c. 8060 passages to the first American edition of M. Gottfried Buechner's "biblische Real-und Verbal Hand-Concordanz," von Dr. H. L. Heubner, with an introduction by Dr. Philip Schaff. Ig. Kohler.

1871. Brosamen von des Herrn Tische. Sechs Predigten fuer die liebe Jugend. 1. Das Hosianna der Kinder. 2. Das Wort Gottes. 3. Die Furcht des Herrn. 4. "Siehe, ich hab' euch lieb." 5. Das Lamm Gottes. 6. Was uns die Voegel predigen. Phila. Ig. Kohler.

1871. Art.: The German Liturgy and Rev. S. K. Brobst. *Lutheran and Missionary*, Dec. 28.

1872. Zwei liturgischen Andachten auf Charfreitag u. Ostern, fuer die Sonntag Schule u. Gemeinde. S. K. Brobst & Co.

1873. Lasset euch nicht verfuehren. Address at annual meeting of Ev. L. Generalverein Junger Maenner. St. Johannis, Brooklyn. pp. 15.

1875. Mein erstes Buch, and Mein zweites Buch, by A. S., in collaboration with F. Wischan. Mein drittes Buch was not Dr. Spaeth's work. Pilger Buchhandlung.

1877. Jugendfreund Lieder, collected by A. S. Brobst, Diehl & Co.

1877. Die Reformation u. das Reformiren. Sermon for Reformation Day in Seminary. Printed by request. B. D. & Co., Pilger Buchhandlung, pp. 10.

1877. Christtags-Andacht fuer die Sonntagschule. B. D. & Co.

1878-1880. Edited Brobst's *Luth. Kalender*. Articles: 1878. Pastor

S. K. Brobst.—3 translations from C. P. K. Die Einheit der Kirche,—Verschiedene Denominationen,—Das Neue Testament u. die "Denominationen."—1884. Charles Porterfield Krauth.—1899. Katholisch, Roemisch, Protestantisch, Lutherisch. Reduced from *Herold u. Zeitschrift* in 1892.

1878-1891. Co-editor of *Missionsbote.* His articles were not signed.

1879. In Memoriam, Maria Dorothea Duncan Spaeth. Privately printed.

1879. For Endlich's Choralbuch A. S. prepared the Einleitung zu den Liturgischen Gesaengen. The Preface also acknowledges the active part taken by him from beginning to end of this work, without which insuperable difficulties would have arisen.

1879. Zustand u. Aussichten der l. Kirche in Deutschland. Essay read at Second Free Lutheran Diet in America. Philadelphia, November 5-7, 1878.

1880. Concordia. Rede, 300jaehrig. Gedaechtnissfeier des Konk. buches, pp. 16. Pilger Buchhandlung.

1881-1894. Articles in the *Herold u. Zeitschrift:* 1881. Das General Council,—Die Tempelsekte in Palaestina und—der *Lutheran and Missionary,* Oct. 21.—1882. Ward's Island u. sein Kaplan, May 6.—1883. *Volksfreund,* Traktatgesellschaft u. Lutherthum, Feb. 10.—Die Erste These, Nov. 10.—Eine werthvolle Jubilaeumsgabe (Dr. Jacobs' "Book of Concord."), Dec. 29.—1885. *Der Jugendfreund,* Jan. 10.—Aufruf zum Diakonissenwerk. Apr. 4.—1886. Reisebriefe; I., with verses: Die wandernde Boje, July 3.—II., July 17.—III., Aug. 7.—1887 to 1889, Betrachtungen following the Church Year. These Meditations were the basis of the "Saatkoerner."—1887. Muehlenberg's Biography, June 11.—Von der Conferenz in Hamburg; Reise-Erinnerungen, I., Dec. 3.—II., Dec. 10.—III., Dec. 17.—IV., Dec. 31.—V., Jan. 7, 1888.—1888. Das Seminar in Philadelphia, u. der Name der Pennsylvania Synode. Zur Abwehr. Jan. 28.—Das Letzte von Kropp, Feb. 11.—Das General Concil u. die Anstalt zu Kropp, Feb. 25. Mar. 3. (Note, June 16.)—Das General Concil in Minneapolis, Sept. 9.—In Memoriam, Beale M. Schmucker, Dec. 1.—1890. Das Bild der ehernen Schlange, May 31.—1891. Das Lutherfestspiel in Philadelphia, with Epilog von A. S., Mar. 14.—1892. Review of "Der Hirt u. seine Heerde," Sermons in the University Church at Erlangen, 1868-1884, by Professor Gerhard von Zezschwitz, Jan. 16.—Wilhelm Julius Mann, D.D., LL.D., July 2.—Katholisch, Roemisch, Protestantisch, Lutherisch. Nov. 5, 19.—Tennyson's Lootse, with translation of "Crossing the Bar," Nov. 26.—Das Christen-

thum u. die Deutschen, Dec. 3.—Eine biblische Frage, Dec. 17. —Ein Urtheil aus Deutschland, Dec. 24.—1893. Aus Welt u. Zeit, 8 articles, Jan. 7, to Mar. 11.—Das Kirchenbuch im Hause, Mar. 4.—Der Praesident u. das Aufsichtsamt, Mar. 18.—Die Ordnung des Gottesdienstes in der luth. Reformation, 4 articles, March 25 to April 15.—Das Schwedische Jubilaeum in Rock Island, June 24, July 1.—1894. Die Kirchengeschichte von Dr. Jacobs u. der "Nativismus," Referat, im Auftrag der Deutschen Pastoral-Conferenz von Philadelphia, Mar. 3, 10.—Dr. W. A. Passavant, June 30.

1881. Predigt: von der Seele bis aufs Fleisch, pp. 15. Pilger Buchhandlung.

1881. Sermon: Having and not having, pp. 15. Published by the students of the Luth. Seminary in Philadelphia.

1881. Art.: Dr. Spaeth and the Temple Colonies in Palestine, a letter to the Editorial Committee, *Lutheran and Missionary.*

1881-1910. Articles in the *Lutheran:* 1881. Luther and German Nationality, translated from Luthardt, Dec. 22.—1883. "Warum betruebst du dich mein Herz?" Feb. 1.—1887. Dr. Valentine's "Effort to Reconstruct History" (Published separately as 16 page tract.), Jan. 6.—The Arrangement of Luther's Catechism, May 12.—A Proposition to the Editor of the *Observer,* June 2.—1888. The Latest from Kropp, transl. from *Herold u. Zeitschrift,* Feb. 16.—1897. Gospel Thoughts, first series, began October 14, continued until November 19, 1903.—1898. To what extent does the Rhythmic form of the Choral obtain in America? Nov. 24.—1899. Sacramental Idea in Lutheran Theology and Worship, Jan. 5.—"Nun Danket Alle Gott," Jan. 19.—1900. Fliedner Centennial announced, Jan. 4.—The Conflict in South Africa, Feb. 8.—The Latest Phase of the South African Conflict, Feb. 22.—1902. Freiherr von Liliencron and the Church Book (Kirchenbuch). The first of a series under the heading "Greetings from Germany" or "Voices from Germany," indicated here by a *. Jan. 30.—Professor Christopher Ernst Luthardt, D.D.,* Oct. 23.—Dr. Hilprecht's Explorations,* Dec. 4.—1903. Luthardt and Lessing,* Jan. 1.—Bismarck as a Christian. Condensed from the *Church Review.* I., Jan. 8; II., Jan. 15.—A Bishop on Reform. Catholicism,* Feb. 5.—Delitsch and Hilprecht,* Mar. 5.—The King-Bishop of Prussia's letter,* April 16.—International Lutheran Union,* May 14.—The Bach Festival in Bethlehem, Pa., May 28.—Women's Rights,* June 25.—Germany and the Election of the Next Pope,* July 9.—Answer to Open Letter: Why a telegram

announcing the death of Pope Leo XIII. was sent to President Roosevelt, Aug. 13.—Church and State,* Sept. 24.—Sketch of Charles P. Krauth, Fourth President of the General Council, Oct. 1.—The Policy of Leo XIII.,* Oct. 15.—Epistle Thoughts, from November 26, 1903, to July 21, 1904. Resumed October 27 to November 17, 1904.—The Melanchthon House in Bretten,* Nov. 26.—The General Luth. Conf. in Europe; appointment of Drs. M. Ranseen and A. S. members of Engere Konferenz, Dec. 3.—German Books in American Libraries,* Dec. 24.—1904. Luther Libels Refuted,* Feb. 4.—The 29th Convention of the Gen. Council, transl. from Luthardt's *Allgemeine Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung,* Feb. 4.—Meeting of the Gen. Conference in Europe,* Mar. 10.—Centennial of the British and Foreign Bible Society,* May 26.—The Rostock Conference, Oct. 27.—Epistle Thoughts selected from Luther, Nov. 24, Dec. 1.—Gospel Thoughts from Luther, December 8, 1904, to November 23, 1905.—The Crisis in Scotland, Dec. 15.—1905. The Evangelistic Movement in Germany,* Jan. 5.—Philip Jacob Spener as a Lutheran,* Mar. 2.—The Americans at the Dedication of the Dom in Berlin,* Apr. 13.—Epistle Thoughts from Luther, second series, November 30, to December 6, 1905.—1906. A Statue for Paul Gerhardt, Feb. 8.—The Duty of the Church toward the Diaconate. Paper presented at the Sixth Conference of Deaconess Motherhouses, Mar. 8.—Professor Dr. Otto Zoeckler, Mar. 8.—Answer to Open Letter: The Church not built on Peter, Apr. 19.—The Entrance of Lutheranism into the Sphere of the English Language—Its Significance. From Address at Gen. Council, Minneapolis, 1888, May 10.—Gospel Thoughts from Luther, second series, Dec. 13, 1906, to Nov. 21, 1907.—1907. In Memory of Paul Gerhardt, Mar. 14.—Gospel Thoughts from Lutheran Pulpits, November 28, 1907, to June 3, 1909.—1908. W. Loehe on English Lutheranism, Feb. 20.—Luther on Beer, Feb. 20.—Luther as a Hymnist, Oct. 29.—1909. Theses on Church and State, Jan. 21.—A Defense of the Letter to President Roosevelt, Jan. 21.—Lutheranism in Paris, Jan. 28.—The Three Crosses on Calvary. Address in Seminary Chapel, Apr. 8.—Light on the Situation in Turkey, May 13.—British Visit to Germany, Oct. 14.—Moravianism and Modernism, Nov. 18.—Rev. John Nicum in St. Johannis, Philadelphia, Dec. 16.—1910. An original account of Luther's Death, found in the Krauth Memorial Library, Jan. 20.—Lincoln and Bismarck, by request. Some of the leading points of a lecture delivered on February 12th, for the German Society, Feb. 24.—

King, Pope, Ex-President and Methodism, Apr. 14.—Freedom and Order. Translated from Professor Gottfried Fritschel, D.D. I., Apr. 28.—II., May 5.—III., May 12.—IV., May 19.—Dr. Spaeth's last sermon (Ordination in St. John's), July 7.

1882. Amerikanische Beleuchtung der "Amerikanische Reisebilder" des Herrn Prof. Dr. J. G. Pfleiderer. pp. 24. Published by German Home Mission Committee of the Gen. Council.

1882. Martin Luther an Ensample for our Time. Opening Sermon at G. C., Lancaster, Ohio. *Tracts for the Churches,* No. 1. 12mo., pp. 15. Office of *Workman,* Pittsburgh.

1882-1910. Articles in the *Lutheran Church Review.* In 1887 the Seminary Faculty were named as Associate Editors. 1882. Recent German Theological Literature, January and July.—1883. Recent Ger. Theol. Literature, April.—An exegetical Study of Matthew 11: 3, October.—1885. Luther's Ordination Service, January.—The General Council of the Ev. Luth. Church in North America, April.—Phebe the Deaconess, I., July.—II., October.—1886. The Free Church of Scotland, a review of "Annals of the Disruption," Brown, 1884, April.—1887. Faith and Life as represented by Martin Luther, January.—A New Catechism, April.—Luther's Doctrine of the Church, October.—Various Book Notices, 1887 to 1889.—1888. The German Lutheran Conference in Germany, January.—1889. Memorial of Beale Melanchthon Schmucker, April.—1890. Matthew 18: 20, and the Doctrine of the Church, April.—Review of Dr. Jacobs' "Lutheran Movement in England," reprinted in *Lutheran,* October.—1891. A Chapter of Biography; Charles Porterfield Krauth and the Synod of Maryland, 1842-1845, January.—Studies in the Gospel of St. John, July.—1892. Studies in John, II., July.—1893. William Julius Mann, D.D., LL.D., January.—Rev. Charles Porterfield Krauth, 1823 to 1841, July.—Studies in John, III., October. The Studies in John were also printed separately.—1894. Charles Porterfield Krauth and the General Synod up to the year 1859. I., January.—II., April.—The Lutheran View concerning Sunday and Sunday Rest, October.—1897. Melanchthon in American Lutheran Theology, January.—1898. History of the liturgical development of the Ministerium, January.—History of the Lutheran Church in America, January.—Review of G. J. Fritschel and J. Deindorfer, January.—1901. Conrad Sigmund Fritschel, separately printed, January.—Kirche-Church, April.—1902. Bismarck as a Christian, July.—1903. Rev. Charles Porterfield Krauth, transl. by E. P. P., from Herzog-Hauck Encyl., April.—1905. Inter-

national Lutheranism (Rostock Address), transl. by J. D. S., January.—A letter to the *Alte Glaube,* January.—Concordia, transl. by C. T. B., October.—1906. The Schmuckers, Samuel S., and Beale, transl. by J. W. E., from Herzog-Hauck Encyl., July. —Seminary Training compared with German University Training, October.—Remarks at the Bi-centennial of Presbyterianism, October.—1907. Paulus Gerhardt, I., July.—II., Gerhardt's Hymns, October.—1908. J. Sebastian Bach and Church Music, October.—1910. An original account of Luther's Death, April.

1883. Martin Luther ein Vorbild fuer unsre Zeit. *Pastoralblaetter.*

1883. Martin Luther im Liede seiner Zeitgenossen. pp. 132. Pilger Buchhandlung, Reading.

1883. Jubel-Lied zum 10 November, "Es klingt wie Festgelaeute," printed as leaflet for schools.

1884. Das Luther-Jubilaeum in Philadelphia. Edited by A. S. Published by Pastoral Conference, small 4to., pp. 88.

1884. Predigt: Von der Nicodemus-Weisheit, zum Zeugniss des Herrn Jesu Christi. Zum Besten der Innern Mission, pp. 15.

1884. Predigt: Zwei oder Drei im Namen des Herrn. Zum Besten der Innern Mission. pp. 8. Also published in Germany.

1884. Predigt: Der Ruf zum grossen Abendmahl. Zum Besten der Innern Mission. pp. 14.

1884. Sermon: Call to the Great Supper. Published for German Home Mission Committee.

1884. Address: *Vivit Lutherus!* at Luther Jubilee of the New York Ministerium, 1883. Leonhardt u. Zimmermann, *Pastoralblat fuer Homiletik,* October.

1884. Predigt: Das General Konzil. Opening of G. C., Monroe, Mich. 12mo., pp. 42.

1885. Phoebe die Diakonissin. Lecture in Zion's church. 8vo., pp. 47.

1885. Schiedlich-Friedlich. Reply to attack on the Deaconesses. Published in the *Evangelist,* Newark, N. J.

1885. Worte der Erinnerung an August H. Schnabel. Dem Andenken des treuen Lehrers gewidmet von seinem dankbaren Pastor, A. S. Printed by Theo. Wischan, pp. 7.

1885. Sermon: The General Council of the Ev. Luth. Church in N. America. *L. Church Review,* April. Separately printed for the Pastoral Association in Philadelphia, pp. 51.

1885. Phebe the Deaconess. Translated for the *Review.* Printed separately. 8vo., pp. 37.

1886. Sermon: Faith and Life as represented by Martin Luther. *Review,* January. Separately in 1887. pp. 18.

1887. Heimatgruesse. Zwei Predigten: 1. Vorwaerts in Jesu Namen.

2. Was hat Paulus den Athenern gepredigt? Esslingen, 1886. Zum Besten des Baufonds der Frauenkirche. pp. 24.

1887. Ordinations-Predigt: Die Ersten im Weinberg. Zum Besten der deutsch. einh. Mission. pp. 13.

1887. Predigt: Das Koenigliche Hochzeitsmahl. Esslingen, Aug. Weismann. 16mo., pp. 12.

1887. Briefe aus Venedig, 8 numbers, written 1862-3. *Luth. Kirchenblatt.*

1887. Festpredigt: II. Sunday after Trinity. Rochester, N. Y.

1887. Liederlust. Altes u. Neues fuer muntere Saenger in Kirche, Schule u. Haus. T. H. Diehl, pp. 222.

1887. Several articles in Meusel's Kirchliches Handlexicon; not signed.

1888. Sermon: The Nations and the Gospel. Augustana Book Concern, pp. 16.

1889. Address at Dedication of Seminary, and Article on Charles P. Krauth, in Memorial Number of *Indicator.*

1890. Associate Editor of the *Messenger,* Philadelphia Motherhouse.

1890. Deaconesses and the Sick. Address at Chautauqua. Printed separately.

1890. Contributed to "Evangelische Stimmen aus Zion," Predigtbuch, H. Voegele.

1893. Memorial of William Julius Mann, D.D., LL.D., *Luth. Church Review,* January. Separately printed for the Ministerium, pp. 72.

1893. Die Geschichte der Ev. Luth. St. Johannis Gemeinde. Zum 25jaehrig. Jubilaeum der Kircheinweihung. pp. 94.

1893. Saatkoerner aus den Evangelien des Kirchenjahrs. Der St. Johannis Gemeinde in Philadelphia zum 25jaehr. Jubilaeum gewidmet. 8vo., pp. 462, Ig. Kohler.

1893. Lutheran View concerning Sunday and Sunday Rest. Paper prepared for Chicago Sunday Congress. Full text in *Luth. Church Review,* October, 1894.

1893. Article: Unsere Gemeindeschulen, *Christliche Erziehungsblaetter.*

1894. Appendix to the "Deaconess Calling," translated by E. A. Endlich from Emil Wacker. pp. 129. M. J. D. Home, Phila.

1895. Dr. Wilhelm Julius Mann, Ein deutsch-amerikanischer Theologe. Erinnerungsblaetter. 8vo., pp. IX. 296. Pilger Buchhandlung.

1896. Address: Opening of the Bechstein Germanic Library, University of Pennsylvania, March 21st. Printed in Official Report.

1896. Annotations on the Gospel according to John. "Lutheran

Commentary," Vol. V. 8vo., pp. 351. Christian Literature Company.

1897. Die Heilige Passion in sieben liturgischen Andachten. pp. 47. I. Kohler & Sons.

1898-1908. Addresses or Papers prepared for the Convocation of Church Musicians, and published in its Annals: Idea of the Lutheran Service, 1898.—What is Church Music? 1899.—The Pastor and the Organist, 1900.—Music in the Lutheran Church; and Choir Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries, 1901.—Johann Sebastian Bach and Church Music, 1908.

1898. Co-editor, with Dr. Jacobs and Dr. Spieker, of A Documentary History of the Ev. Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Volume I. 1748 to 1780.

1898. Charles Porterfield Krauth, D.D., LL.D. Vol. I. 1823-1859. pp. XIII, 425. Christian Literature Company.

1899. About 350 Articles in the "Lutheran Cyclopedia," all signed.

1899. Paper: The Sacramental Idea in Lutheran Theology and Worship. Printed in Report of Proceedings of General Conference, held December 28, 1899. Also in *Lutheran*. General Council Publication Board.

1900. The Conflict in South Africa, from a Lecture on Boer and Briton. Condensed for the *Lutheran*.

1900. Der deutsche Paedagoge in Amerika. Address before the National German-American Lehrerbund, in the University of Penna. Published in the *Paedagogisch. Monatshefte*, I. 8.

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stand, Jan. 13.—Dr. G. F. Krotels Geburtstag, Feb. 10.—Erinnerungen eines Philadelphia Pastors, I., Feb. 24.—II., Mar. 10.—III., Mar. 31.—IV., April 14.—V., April 28.—VI., May 12.—Karl Schurz, May 26.—Erinnerungen. VII., May 26.—VIII., June 9.—IX., June 23.—X., July 7.—XI., July 21. With the next number (August 4, 1906) Dr. Spaeth became Editor of the *Kirchenbote*. The Erinnerungen continued until September 20, 1908.—Pastor Goedel's Abschied, Aug. 4.—Gott hat sein Volk heimgesucht (Sermon in Esslingen, 1904), Sept. 29.—Zum einunddreissigsten Oktober, Oct. 27.—1907. Ein Palestrina-Konzert, Jan. 5.—Paulus Gerhardt u. das Lutherthum in Brandenburg, Feb. 2.—Reisebrief I., July 28.—II., Bei den Leipziger Saengern, Aug. 25.—III., Sept. 22.—Probe der Juengerschaft (Esslingen, II n. Trin.), Sept. 22.—Der Deutsche Tag, Oct. 6.—Antrittspredigt in St. Johannis (Oct. 13, 1867), Oct. 20.—Zum Reformationsfest, Nov. 3.—Die Krisis in der Allgemeinen Luth. Konferenz, Nov. 17.—Ein Besuch im Sueden, Nov. 17.—Das Kirchenjahr im Lichte des Advents-Evangeliums, Dec. 1.—Die St. Johannis-Kirche in neuem Schmuck, Dec. 1.—1908. Die Boyertown Katastrophe, Jan. 19.—Die Universitaet Tuebingen weist eine Einmischung des Roemischen Bischofes entschieden zurueck, Jan. 19.—Vor Zwanzig Jahren (Kaiserrede), Mar. 29.—Der neunte Jahrgang, April 12.—Das Schlusswort des Johannis-Evangeliums, May 10.—Seemanns-Lied (Verse, from the Greek), Sept. 6.—Das Kyrie eleison der See (Verse, transl. from Longfellow), Sept. 20.—Zum Gedaechtniss von Pastor Philipp Pfatteicher (Leichenrede), Oct. 4.—Die Festwoche in Philadelphia (Founders' Week), Oct. 4.—Eroeffnungs-Predigt bei der Allgemein. deutschen Konferenz (Rochester, N. Y.), Nov. 1.—Festrede, Oct. 6.—Staat, Kirche u. Stimmrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Nov. 29.

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